The Unwritten South

Cause, Progress and Result of the Civil War

Relics of Hidden Truth
After 40 Years

J. Clarence Stonebraker

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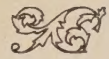
The Leaders of the Southern Army which killed, wounded and captured more men out of five consecutive armies pitted against them, than their army contained.

The Unwritten South



SEVENTH EDITION

CAUSE, PROGRESS AND RESULT
OF THE CIVIL WAR

RELICS OF HIDDEN TRUTH
AFTER FORTY YEARS

BY J. CLARENCE STONEBRAKER

"Do we know the true history of the South? I confess I do not; neither do I know where it may be found."

—THOMAS NELSON PAGE.

"History is literally—His story—and all depends upon who writes the story."

—MARK TWAIN.

Seventh Edition.

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IN FOND REMEMBRANCE

TO A

SAINTED "SOUTHERN" WIFE

THIS EDITION IS DEDICATED

BY THE AUTHOR

1903

AFTER FORTY YEARS.

"By the flow of the inland river,
Whence the fleets of iron have fled,
Where the blades of the grave-grass quiver,
Asleep are the ranks of the dead;
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day;
Under the one the blue,
Under the other the grey."

—From the State of Mississippi, most charitable and Beautiful.

PREFACE.

The writer of this little work makes no apology for placing it before the public but that he has waited so long—waited for an abler hand—waited also for a time when the bald facts would not be construed to mean an expression of chagrin and bitterness.

Its aim is that prejudice, and ignorance of the true conditions may cease to bring forth untruth, and that the reproach which naturally follows what is supposed to be an unsuccessful effort may be mitigated and a mite contributed towards the establishment of facts. Text book writers and political speakers, the source of nearly all information along this line, have for their object another than mere narrative, as is shown by their veering around questionable points, feigning generosity and courting popularity. Had the South headed the slogan "Forget the War," 'twould mean the army still in the South, "Force Bill" rule, and Tariff outrage rampant.

The key-note of its contents is the right of "Home Rule"—that sacred heirloom from the fathers of Freedom.

The data for the first section has been gathered from the original documents, to which reference is made in contemplation of the subject.

For that of the second section, the writer is very much indebted to the "Old Veterans" who participated in the unequal contest, besides his experience and observation in the border States.

The third is a resume of the Reconstruction period in the South with all the contingent evils for the perpetuity of political power which period was only ended when Congress passed the army appropriation bill over the veto of President Hays, demanding the removal of the army from the South.

A youth's history of the War between the States

—SUPPLEMENTARY.

I. The Cause of the War

The Unwritten South

I. THE CAUSE OF THE WAR.

EING cognizant of the many and great exaggerations and prevarications obtaining in the histories used in the schools and colleges throughout the land, one is not surprised at the impressions made upon the young and tractable mind by misstatements prompted by sectional prejudice, but in consequence is made to sympathize with the victims of deception concerning the matter and makeup of the same, after forty years.—Doubtless you have noted the very eloquent silence of the troublous times occasioned by the demands for a constitution and a declaration of our independence in your stock of books. It is nowhere obtainable in your text-books, that our independence and the rudiments of our government were the product of heated discussions and most persistent and strenuous efforts between the exponents of the constituency of that time, touching the system to be adopted. Hence, in your literature, you are subjected to the gross wrongs of crimes committed, as well as omitted.

With a view to justice and truth, as regards your education,

I have decided to begin with the rebellion of the Colonial Government and render in the main the heretofore unwritten account of our independent nation. You will note first, the names of those most closely connected and identified with our infantile institutions and their home-land. The worthy appellations ascribed to the heroes of our freedom and advancement of our civilization, which opposition of conspiring enemies has not been able to blot from the bright pages of our true glory, have only been vaguely and imperfectly set forth as mere incidents along the trend of events. "The sword of the South," "the pen of the South," and the "tongue of the South," are epithets carrying fuller and deeper meaning than are expressed in the partial and sectional histories afloat in the land.

When the colonies were too feeble for resistance they were grossly imposed upon in many ways by the English government, but as endurance lost its virtue, the colonies looked around for some one to give voice to their indignities. Not much time was required to decide upon Patrick Henry, of Virginia, who, as an orator, will go down by the side of Demosthenes; and there is no person in history, the study of whose character should give more encouragement to the young.

From the time that King James the first, gave the charter to the London company, he was fortified with a knowledge of her history, down to his death; and stood ready to give help when it was needed. There were those at this early period who were afraid to trust a free and democratic system of government, and hence opposed resistance to the King.

The famous stamp act was the pivotal point with the opposers, who would not purchase stamps of England and use them to pay her debts. The South has always been a proud people, and jealous of her liberties. Not so much the money stirred their ire as the principle. Virginia was the first state to meet and discuss this important issue, and such men as Henry, Lee, Peyton, Randolph and Pendleton were among the orators. Already in the New World there existed two parties, when these trying times should have driven the colonies closer together.

When Patrick Henry's voice echoed the principles which have made our nation what it is, treason was yelled in his face from the House of Burgesses, and the resolutions framed upon the occasion, passed by a majority of only one. The news now spread however like wildfire, and soon the colonies formed clubs and banded together by an oath of resistance to oppression. This was the first time the colonies united for a common defense, and was the first American Congress, which met in New York in October of the same year. Sometime after this the Tea Party, at Boston Harbor, threw the tea overboard.

The next event of importance was the convention at Richmond, Va., called for the purpose of consulting as to the best means of defence against the English vessels and armed troops quartered in the town. Patrick Henry here proposed that the citizens be formed into military companies and drilled. Some of the timid drew back at this, when the great speech of Henry rang out and so fired the convention that they went home resolved to lay down their purses and their lives for liberty.

Thomas Jefferson, a rising young man of Virginia now prepared and presented to the House a paper in which he declared that the people of Virginia had a right to pay their money where they pleased. For a time after this several plots were formed by the British, but discovered by the colonies, and while her soldiers were fighting Lord Dunsmore's troops in several small engagements, her statesmen were carving out a government to last for all time. In May, 1776, a convention met at Williamsburg, Virginia, at which meeting it was unanimously resolved to appoint a committee to prepare a bill of rights for the people, and also a constitution for the State.—George Mason wrote these documents, and the latter of them was adopted five days before the Declaration of Independence. From the Bill of Rights, and this constitution, was taken the Declaration of the Independence of the United Colonies and the constitution of the United States, as the same sentiments were expressed in the two. Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia writing one and James Madison the other.

Virgina became the battle ground of the Revolutionary war, where finally Cornwallis surrendered to Washington at Yorktown. When peace was fully restored, General Washington surrendered his commission.

Now that the sword was laid aside you may think that this country had nothing to do but grow rich and enjoy the independence she had so hardly won; but still an arduous task lay before her. The country had now to take her place among the nations, and to support the position honorably.—The experience of

a monarchial government did not satisfy the majority of the people, and they determined to have a government in which no office was held for life. Also, that each State should have a separate government.

Now the subject which engaged the attention of all was how these two governments should be constituted, so that the one would not interfere with the other. This was an undertaking full of difficulty. The States had adopted their own government and they were not prepared to surrender the power entirely into the hands of the United States. Years passed away before a plan was finally settled upon for the adjustment of their needs

In May, 1787, a convention met at Philadelphia when a constitution was prepared and presented to each State for its discussion. Of course there met the best talent of the States for this important work. The most fiery discussions occurred before a conclusion was reached. It is worthy of note here, that one of the most vigorous opposers of the constitution was Patrick Henry, of Virginia. He thought his State should not give even so much of its rights to the general government. Madison, Randolph and others thought she did not give any of her power away, necessary to the existence of the State government. Finally the constitution was adopted only by a majority of ten votes. Now that the constitution was adopted Patrick Henry defended it as vehemently as he had opposed it.

At this time two parties were well defined; one defending

a strong general government and one that should keep under it all state government, the other looking with distrust upon the power already granted to the general government. This last party existed in the South mostly, the other in the North or New England; the name arising from their monarchial ideas of government. Through the medium of the press the matter was agitated until bitterness was born. The one party endeavoring to strengthen her State Government—the other striving to broaden her General Government. Washington now was elected President, though reluctantly, and being a Southern man and a Virginian was not in sympathy with a monarchial form of government. He, of all, knew what it had cost to break away from despotic England. Alexander Hamilton, one of the constitution's enemies, indulged in bursts of chagrin and dissatisfaction, unbecoming a member of Washington's Cabinet. Washington hearing of such treasonous ideas from various sources, of his Secretary, wrote him a letter July 29, 1792, asking an explanation of such shameless sentiments. On August 16, following, Mr. Hamilton wrote to Mr. Adams, saying, "all the people are prosperous and happy and yet most of them, including the friends of Washington's administration, appear to be alarmed at a supposed policy tending to subvert the government of the country." It was under pressure of this very alarm that Washington finally said himself, "those who lean to a monarchial form of government have either not consulted the public mind, or they live in a region which is much more productive of monarchial ideas than in the case with the Southern States." Wash-

ington further intimated that these treasonous principles had no friends in the South.

Hope you will observe that as early as 1790 a great difficulty was growing up between the North and the South, which began only three years before at the constitutional convention. These two parties were termed, the one the Jeffersonian, and the other the Hamiltonian. The one holding that the people should be masters of the government; the other that the government should be masters of the people. The one being in favor of a government of the people with powers cautiously limited and clearly defined in the constitution, the other in favor of what they called "a strong government," with similar powers to a monarchy, without its name.

The great disappointment which the result of the constitutional convention gave to Mr. Hamilton may be seen in a letter which he wrote to Mr. Morris, February 27, 1802, in which he said: "I am laboring to prop the frail and worthless fabric for a while." "I do not publish it in Dan and Beersheba, but am thoroughly convinced that we shall have to return to the English form of government." Failing to get his principles incorporated in the constitution, he next tried to give a monarchial interpretation to the Democratic constitution. Hamilton was more culpable than either Burr or Arnold, because he practiced duplicity. He also sought the Presidency, being a foreigner.

Washington served the country as President for eight years, when John Adams was elected to succeed him. During Washington's term the Hamiltonians, who embraced a majority of

the men of wealth and high social standing in the North, were not permited to make any headway in subverting the constitution. The popularity of Washington kept down all cliques and sections, but no sooner was his term at an end than the enemies of the Democratic principles of government showed the cloven foot of monarchism again, and every safeguard of the constitution was disregarded and overthrown. Adams was originally a Democrat and had performed valuable service in the revolution which won for us the possibility of a free government. Jefferson said in writing of Adams: "I have a cordial esteem for Mr. Adams, increased by long habits of concensus of opinion and even since his apostasy to hereditary nobility. We differ as friends." Adams was made to believe that the glare and glitter of royalty was a necessary ingredient in government. He was taken up by the Monarchial Federalists in his absence, and upon his return to the United States, was by them made to believe that the general disposition of the people was favorable to monarchial government. Thus these fanatics, when the Democrats were more concerned about their State matters, succeeded in electing Adams to the Presidency. The Democratic party has always held principles above party, causing loss of immediate success upon several occasions.

Under Adams' administration the most foolish and oppressive acts were passed by the Federalists. Among them was the "Alien and Sedition Laws," which gave the President power to banish all aliens from the United States, or to lock them up in prison during his pleasure; also to cause the arrest and impris-

onment of any person who should write or speak anything against the President or Congress. These acts, in short, endowed the President with despotic power; putting the liberties of every Democrat in jeopardy and producing a reign of terror and cruelty which lasted until the end of the administration. Matthew Lyon, a Democrat and estimable citizen, for ridiculing the idle parade of the President, was thrust into prison and left to freeze and starve for a whole winter, and then released only by paying $1,000. General Sumpter was knocked down and cruelly beaten because he did not take off his hat at a theatre in Philadelphia when it was announced that the President was coming in. Mob violence was the order and ran riot everywhere. Will quote an extract from an address made to the President May 1, 1798:

"We, the subscribers and inhabitants and citizens of Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, deeply impressed with the alarming condition of our country, beg leave to express to you, the Chief Magistrate and supreme ruler over the United States our fullest approbation of all the measures, external and internal, you have been pleased to adopt under direction of Divine authority."

The only alarming condition was the growing indignation of the majority of the people at the despotism of the party in power. This faction admired John Adams because he admired the British Government. According to the constitution the State has the management of its citizens, and the Government the management of the currency, postoffices, etc.

The defeat of this Federal party by and under the leadership of Jefferson and Madison, whose hands had written, the one the Constituion and the other the Declaration of Independence, was so thorough that one would have thought it was the finishing blow to such principles; but you will observe later on that it lived and struggled for years, and again was boomed up with renewed violence and viciousness. The Kentucky and Virginia resolutions were brought forth by the South as a renewal of their pledges to their sacred compact, and became the campaign document for the ensuing election. These resolutions were opposed by the North as vigorously as they were supported by the South. The resolutions set forth all the powers of the government as resulting from a compact and agreement between sovereign States, each State preserving an equal right to decide as well of infractions as manner of redress. You know the result of the election. The people trusted the sincerity of the men who were first in war, first in peace, and progress. As the resolutions of Kentucky and Virginia are so rarely seen in our literary works at present it may be well to insert them here for your careful perusal.

The following resolutions passed the House of Representatives of Kentucky, Nov. 10, 1798:

Resolved, That the several states comprising the United States of America are not united on the principles of unlimited submission to the general government, but that by compact, under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States and of amendments thereto, they constitute a general govern-

ment for special purposes, delegated to that government certain definite powers, reserving, each State to itself, the residuary mass of right to their own self-government; and, that whensoever the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force; that to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party; that this government, created by this compact, was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself, since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infraction as of the mode of redress.

2 *Resolved*, That the Constitution of the United States having delegated to Congress a power to punish treason, counterfeiting securities and current coin of the United States, piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the laws of nations, and no other crimes whatever; and it being true, as a general principle, and one of the amendments to the Constitution having also declared, "that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," therefore also the same Act of Congress, passed on the 14th day of July 1798, and entitled "an act in addition to the act entitled an act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States; as also the act passed by them on 27th of June, 1798, entitled an act to punish frauds committed on the

bank of the United States," and all other their acts which assume to create, define, or punish crimes other than those enumerated in the Constitution, are altogether void and of no force and that the power to create, define and punish such other crimes is reserved, and of right appertains solely and exclusively to the respective States, each within its own territory.

3. *Resolved*, That it is true, as a general principle, and is also expressly declared by one of the amendments to the Constitution, that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the Staes, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people; and that no power over the freedom of religion, freedom of speech, or freedom of the press, being delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, all lawful powers respecting same did of right remain, and were reserved to the States or to the people; that thus was manifested their determination to retain to themselves the right of judging how far the licentiousness of speech and of the press may be abridged without lessening their useful freedom, and how far those abuses which cannot be separated from their use should be tolerated rather than the use destroyed; and thus also they guarded against all abridgement by the United States, of the freedom of religious principles and exercises, and retained to themselves the right of protecting the same as this, stated by a law passed on the general demand of its citizens, had already protected them from all human restraint or interference; and that in addition to this general principle and express declaration another and more

special provison has been made by one of the amendments to the Constitution, which expressly declares that "Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercises thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press," thereby guarding, in the same sentence and under the same words, the freedom of religion, of speech and of the press, insomuch that whatever violates either throws down the sanctuaries which cover the others; and that libels, falsehoods and defamation, equally with heresy and false religion, are withheld from the cognizance of federal tribunals. That therefore the act of the Congress of the United States, passed on the 14th of July, 1798, entitled "an act in addition to the act entitled an act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States," which does abridge the freedom of the press, is not law, but is altogether void and of no force.

4. Resolved, That alien friends are under the jurisdiction and protection of the laws of the State wherein they are; that no power over them has been delegated to the United States, nor prohibited to the individual States distinct from their power over citizens; and it being true, as a general principle, and one of the amendments to the Constitution having also declared that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," the Act of the Congress of the United States passed the 22d. day of June, 1798, entitled "an Act concerning aliens" which assumes power over alien

friends not delegated by the Constitution, is not law, but is altogether void of no force.

5. *Resolved,* That in addition to the general principle as well as the express declaration, that powers not delegated are reserved, another and more special provision inferred in the Constitution, from abundant caution has declared, "that the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808." That this Commonwealth does admit the migration of alien friends described as the subject of the said Act concerning aliens; that a provision against prohibiting their migration is a provision against all Acts equivalent thereto, or it would be nugatory; that, to remove them when migrated is equivalent to a prohibition of their migration, and is therefore, contrary to the said provision of the Constiution, and void.

6. *Resolved,* That the imprisonment of a person under the protection of the laws of this commonwealth on his failure to obey the simple order of the President of the United States to depart out of the United States as is undertaken by the said Act, entitled, "an Act concerning aliens" is contrary to the Constitution, one amendment in which has provided, that "no person shall be deprived of liberty without due process of law," and, that another having provided, "that in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a public trial by an impartial jury, to be informed as to the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have com-

pulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have assistance of counsel for his defense," the same Act undertaking to authorize the President to remove a person out of the United States, who is under the protection of the law, on his own suspicion, without jury, without public trial, without confrontation of the witnesses against him, without having witnesses in his favor, without defence, without counsel, is contrary to these provisions, also of the Constitution, is therefore not law, but utterly void and of no force.

That transferring the power of judging any person who is under the protection of the laws from the courts to the President of the United States, as is undertaken by the same Act concerning aliens, is against the article of the Constitution—which provides, that the Judicial power of the United States shall be vested in the courts, the judges of which shall hold their office during good behavior, and that the said act is void for that reason also; and it is further to be noted that this transfer of judiciary power is to that magistrate of the general government who already posseses all the executive, and a qualified negative in all the legislative powers.

7. *Resolved,* That the construction applied by the general government (as is evident by sundry of their proceedings) to these parts of the Constitution of the United States, which delegate to Congress power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imports, excesses, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States, and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into

execution the powers vested by the Constitution in the government of the United States or any department thereof, goes to the destruction of all the limits prescribed to their power by the Constitution; that words meant by that instrument to be subsidiary only to the execution of the limited powers, ought not to be so construed as themselves to give unlimited powers, nor a part so as to be taken as to destroy the whole residue of the instrument; that the proceedings of the general government under color of those articles, will be a fit and necessary subject for revisal and correction at a time of greater tranquility, while those specified in the preceding resolutions call for immediate redress.

8. *Resolved*, That the preceding resolutions be transmitted to the Senators' representatives in Congress from this commonwealth, who are enjoined to present the same to their respective House, and to use their best endeavors to procure at the next session of Congress a repeal of the aforesaid unconstitutional and obnoxious Acts.

9. *Resolved*, Lastly, that the government of this commonwealth be, and is hereby authorized and requested to communicate the preceding resolutions to the legislatures of the several States, to assure them that this commonwealth considers union for special national purposes, and particularly for those specified in their late federal compact, to be friendly to the peace, happiness and prosperity of all the States—that faithful to that compact, according to the plain intent and meaning in which it was understood and acceded to by the several parties, it is sincerely

anxious for its preservation; that it does also believe, that to take from the States all the powers of self government and transfer them to a general and consolidated government, without regard to the special delegations and reservations solemnly agreed to in that compact, is not for the peace, happiness or prosperity of these States; and that therefore this commonwealth is determined, as it doubts not its co-States are to submit to undelegated and consequently unlimited powers in no man, or body of men on earth; that if the Acts before specified should stand, these conclusions would flow from them: That the general government may place any act they think proper on the list of crime and punish it themselves, whether enumerated or not enumerated by the Constitution as cognizable by them; that they may transfer its cognizance to the President or any other person, who may be the evidence, his order sentence, his officer the executioner, and his breast the sole record of the transaction; that a very numerous and valuable description of the inhabitants of these States, being by this precedent reduced as outlaws, to the absolute dominion of one man, and the barriers of the Constitution thus swept from us all, no rampart now remains against the passions and the power of a majority of Congress to protect from a like exportation or other grievous punishment the majority of the same body, the legislature, judges, governors and councilors of the States, nor their other peaceable inhabitants who may venture to reclaim the Constitutional rights and liberties of the States and people, or who for other causes, good or bad, may be obnoxious to the views or marked by the suspicions of the Presi-

dent, or to be thought dangerous to his or their election or other interests, public or personal; that the friendless alien has been selected as the safest subject of a first experiment; but the citizen will soon follow, or rather has already followed; for, already has a sedition Act marked him as a prey; that these and successive Acts of the same character, unless arrested on the threshhold, may tend to drive these States into revolution and blood, and will furnish new calumnies against republican governments, and new pretexts for those who wish to be believed, that man cannot be governed but by a rod of iron; that it would be a dangerous delusion were a confidence in the men of our choice to silence our fears for the safety of our rights; that confidence is everywhere the parent of despotism; free government is found in jealousy, and not in confidence; it is jealousy and not confidence which prescribes limited constitutions to bind down those whom we are obliged to trust with power; that our Constitution has accordingly fixed the limits to which, and no farther, our confidence may go; and let the truest advocate of confidence read the alien and sedition Acts and say if the Constitution has not been wise in fixing limits to the government it created, and whether we should be wise in destroying those limits? Let him say what the government is, if it be not a tyranny, which the men of our choice have assented to and accepted over the friendly strangers, to whom the mild spirit of our country and its laws had pledged hospitality and protection; that the men of our choice have no more respected the base suspicions of the President than the solid rights of innocence, the claims of justification,

the sacred force of truth, and the forms and substance of the law and justice. In question of power then let no more be said of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution. That this Constitution does therefore call on its co-States for an expression of their sentiments on the Acts concerning aliens and for the punishments of certain crimes hereinbefore specified, plainly declaring whether these Acts are, or are not authorized by the federal compact, and it doubts not that their sense will be so announced as to prove their attachment to limited government, whether general or particular, and that the rights and liberties of their co-States will be exposed to no dangers by remaining embarked on a common bottom with their own; but they will concur with this commonwealth in considering the said Acts as so palpably against the Constitution as to amount to an undisguised declaration, that the compact is not meant to be the measure of the powers of the general government, but that it will proceed in the exercise over these States of all powers whatsoever. That they will view this as signing the rights of the States and consolidating them in the hands of the general government, with a power assumed to bind the States (not merely in cases made federal) but in all cases, whatsoever, by laws made not with their consent, but by others against their consent; that this would be to surrender the form of government we have chosen, and live under one deriving its powers from its own will, and not from our authority; and that the States securing to their natural rights in cases not made federal, will concur in declaring these void, and of no force, and

will each unite with this commonwealth in requesting their repeal at the next session of Congress.

Passed the House of Representatives, November 10, 1798. In Senate November 13, 1798. Unanimously concurred in. Approved by the Governor November 19, 1798.

House of Representatives,

Thursday, November 14, 1799.

The House, according to the standing order of the day, resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, on the State of the commonwealth, Mr. Desha in the chair; and after some time spent therein the speaker resumed the chair and Mr. Desha reported that the committee had taken under consideration sundry resolutions passed by several state legislatures on the subject of the alien and sedition laws, and had come to a resolution thereupon, which he delivered at the clerk's table, where it was read and unanimously agreed to by the House as follows:

The representatives of the good people of this commonwealth, in general assembly convened, having maturely considered the answer of sundry States in the Union to their resolutions passed the last session respecting certain unconstitutional laws of Congress commonly called the alien and sedition laws, would be faithless, indeed, to themselves and to those they represent were they silently to acquiesce in the principles and doctrines attempted to be maintained in all those answers, that of Virginia only excepted.

To again enter the field of argument and attempt more fully or forcibly to expose the unconstitutionality of those obnoxious laws, would, it is apprehended, be as unnecessary as unavailing. We cannot, however, but lament that, in the discussion of those interesting subjects by sundry of the legislatures of our sister States, unfounded suggestions and uncandid insinuations derogatory to the true character and principles of this commonwealth have been instituted in place of fair reasoning and sound argument.

Our opinions of these alarming measures of the general government, together with our reasons for those opinions, were detailed with decency and with temper and submitted to the discussion and judgment of our fellow citizens throughout the Union. Whether the like decency and temper have been observed in the answers of most of those States who have denied or attempted to obviate the great truths contained in those resolutions, we have now only to submit to a candid world.

Faithful to the true principles of the Federal Union, unconscious of any designs to distrust the harmony of that Union and anxious only to escape the fangs of despotism, the good people of this commonwealth are regardless of censure or calumniation. Lest, however, the silence of this commonwealth should be construed into an acquiesence in the doctrines and principles advanced and attempted to be maintained by the said answers, or lest those of our fellow citizens throughout the Union who so widely differ from us on those important subjects should be deluded by the expectation that we shall be deterred from what

we consider our duty, or shrink from the principles contained in those resolutions—therefore

Resolved, That this commonwealth considers the Federal Union, upon the terms and for the purposes specified in the late compact as conducive to the liberty and happiness of the several States: that it does more unequivocally declare its attachment to the Union, and that compact agreeably to its obvious and real intention, and will be among the last to seek its dissolution; that if those who administer the general government be permitted to transgress the limits fixed by that compact, by a total disregard to the special delegations of power therein contained, an annihilation of the State Governments, and the creation upon their ruins of a general consolidated government will be the inevitable consequence; that the principle and construction contended for by sundry of the State Legislatures, that the general government is the exclusive judge of the extent of the powers delegated to it, stop nothing short of despotism—since the discretion of those who administer the government and not the Constitution would be the measure of their powers; that the several States who formed that instrument, being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of the infraction; and that a nullification by those sovereign ties of all unauthorized acts done under color of that instrument is the rightful remedy; that this commonwealth does, under the most deliberate reconsideration, declare that the said alien and sedition laws are, in their opinion, palpable violations of the said Constitution; and, however cheerfully it may be disposed to surrender its opinion to a ma-

jority of its sister States, in matters of ordinary or doubtful policy, yet, in momentous regulations like the present, which so vitally surround the best rights of the citizens, it would consider a silent acquiesence as highly criminal; that although this commonwealth, as a party to the Federal compact, will bow to the laws of the Union, yet it does, at the same time, declare that it will not now, or ever hereafter, cease to oppose in a constitutional manner every attempt, at what quarters soever offered, to violate that compact. And, finally, in order that no pretext or arguments may be drawn from a supposed acquiesence on the part of this commonwealth in the constitutionality of their laws, and be thereby used as precedents for similar future violations of the Federal compact, this commonwealth does now enter against them its solemn protest.

In Senate November 22, 1799, passed and concurred in.

VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS OF 1798, DRAWN BY MR. MADISON, IN THE VIRGINIA HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

Friday, December 21, 1798.

Resolved, That the General Assembly of Virginia doth unequivocally express a firm resolution to maintain and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of this State, against every aggression, either foreign or domestic; and that they will support the government of the United States in all measures warranted by the former.

That this Assembly most solemnly declares a warm attachment to the Union of the States, to maintain which it pledges

its powers; and, that for this end, it is their duty to watch over and oppose every infraction of those principles which constitute the only basis of that Union, because a faithful observance of them can alone secure its existence and the public happiness.

That this Assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare, that it views the powers of the Federal Government as resulting from the compact to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that in case of a deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise of other powers, not granted by the said compact, the States, who are parties thereto, have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose, for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits the authorities, rights and liberties appertaining thereto.

That the General Assembly doth also express its deep regret that a spirit has, in sundry instances, been manifested by the Federal Government, to enlarge its powers by forced constructions of the Constitutional charters which defines them; and, that indications have appeared of a design to expound certain general phrases, which, having been copied from the very limited grant of powers in the former Articles of confederation, were the less liable to be misconstrued, so as to destroy the meaning and effect of the particular enumeration which necessarily explains and limits the general phrases, and so as to consolidate the States by degrees with one sovereignty, the obvious tendency and inevit-

able result of which would be to transform the present republican system of the United States into an absolute, or at best, a mixed monarchy.

That the General Assembly doth particularly protest against the palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution, in the two late cases of the "alien and sedition laws," passed at the last session of Congress; the first of which exercises a power nowhere delegated to the Federal Government, and by uniting legislative and judicial powers to those of executive, subverts the general principles of free government, as well as the particular organization and positive provisions of the Federal Constitution; and the other of which Acts exercises in like manner, a power not delegated by the Constitution, but on the contrary expressly and positively forbidden by one of the amendments thereto; a power which more than any other, ought to produce universal alarm, because it is leveled against the right of freely examining public characters and measures, and of free communication among the people thereon, which has ever been justly deemed the only effectual guardian of every other right.

That this State having by its convention which ratified the Federal Constitution expressly declared, that, among other essential rights, "the liberty of conscience and the press cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by any authority of the United States," and from its extreme anxiety to guard these rights from every possible attack of sophistry and ambition, having with other States recommended an amendment for that purpose, which amendment was in due time annexed to the Consti-

tution, it would make a reproachful inconsistency and criminal degeneracy if an indifference were now shown to the most palpable violation of one of the rights thus declared and secured, and to the establishment of a precedent which may be fatal to the other.

That the good people of this commonwealth, having ever felt and continuing to feel the most sincere affection for their brethren of the other States, the truest anxiety for establishing and perpetuating the Union of all and the most scrupulous fidelity to that Constitution, which is the pledge of mutual friendship and the instrument of mutual happiness, the General Assembly doth solemnly appeal to the like dispositions in the other states, in confidence that they will concur with this commonwealth in declaring, as it does hereby declare, that the acts aforesaid are unconstitutional, and that the necessary and proper measures will be taken by each for co-operation with this State in maintaining unimpaired the authorities, rights and liberties reserved to the States respectively or to the people. That the Governor be desired to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions to the executive authority of each of the other States, with a request that the same may be communicated to the legislature thereof, and that a copy be furnished to each of the Senators and Representatives representing this State in the Congress of the United States.

1798, Dec. 24th. Agreed to by the Senate.

A true copy from the original deposited in the office of the General Assembly.

A few extracts from an address to the people which accompanied the foregoing resolutions may serve to render a still greater evidence of the sacred sentiment held by the Southern people for their free government.

Fellow Citizens—It would be perfidious in those intrusted with the guardianship of the State sovereignty and acting under the solemn obligation of the following oath, "I do swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States," not to warn you of encroachments, which, though clothed with the pretext of necessity, or disguised by arguments of expediency, may yet establish precedents, which may ultimately devote a generous and unsuspicious people to all the consequences of usurped power.

The sedition act presents a scene which was never expected by the early friends of the Constitution. It was then admitted that the State sovereignties were only diminished by powers specially enumerated or necessary to carry the specified powers with effect. Now Federal authority is deduced from the implication and from the existence of State law, it is inferred that Congress possesses a similar power of legislation, whence Congress will be endowed with power of legislation in all cases whatsoever, and the States will be stripped of every right reserved by the concurrent claims of a paramount legislation.

It is possible to confound monarchy and republicanism by the art of definition, and dexterity be varnished over with the pleancy of language, which seduction ambition never fails to display, and at length come to avow that so extensive a territory as the United States can only be governed by the energies of mon-

archy; that it can not be defended, except by standing armies, and that it cannot be united except by consolidation.

Measures have already been adopted which may lead to these consequences; they consist in viscal systems and arrangements, which keep an host of commercial and wealthy individuals embodied and obedient to the mandates of the treasury. Let history be consulted; let the man of experience reflect; nay let the artificers of monarchy be asked what further materials they can need for building up their favorite system.

Pledged as we are, fellow citizens to these sacred engagements, we yet humbly and fervently implore the Almighty disposer of events to avert from our land war and usurpation, the scourges of mankind; to permit our fields to be cultivated in peace; to instill into nations the love of friendly intercourse; to suffer our youths to be educated in virtue, and to preserve our morality from the pollution of war.

1790, January 23. Agreed to by the Senate.

Now, as these will suffice to give a fair representation of the Southern sentiment as regards the interpretation of the Constitution, and which were effective in electing Jefferson and Madison, being an expression of the sentiment of a large majority of the people and held by the people for sixty years, will add a few of the answers of the opposing State Legislatures, which are concise in their make up and of the same trend of sentiment as the general run.

State of Delaware. In the House of Representatives, February 1, 1799.

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Delaware, in General Assembly met, that they consider the resolutions from the State of Virginia as a very unjustifiable interference with the general government and constituted authority of the United States, and of dangerous tendency, and therefore not fit subjects for the further consideration of the General Assembly.

ISAAC DAVIS, *Speaker of the Senate.*
STEPHEN LEWIS, *Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations—In General Assembly, February, A. D., 1799. Certain resolutions of the Legislature of Virginia, passed on the 21st of December last, being communicated to this Assesmbly:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this legislature the section of third article of the Constitution of the United States in these words, to wit: The judicial power extending to all cases arising under the laws of the United States, vests in the federal courts, exclusively, and in the Supreme Court of the United States, ultimately, the authority of deciding on the constitutionality of any act or law of the United States.

2. *Resolved,* That for any State Legislature to assume that authority would be,

1st. Blending together legislative and judicial powers.

2nd. Hazarding an interruption of the peace of the States by civil discord in case of a diversity of opinion among the State Legislatures, each State having, in that case, no resort for vindicating its own opinions, but the strength of its own arm.

3rd. Submitting most important questions of law to less competent tribunals; and,

4th. An infraction of the Constitution of the United States, expressed in plain terms.

Resolved, That, although for the above reasons this legislature in their public capacity do not feel themselves authorized to consider and decide on the constitutionality of the sedition and alien laws, so called, yet they are called upon by the exigency of this occasion to declare that, in their private opinions, these laws are within the powers delegated to Congress, and promotive of the welfare of the United States.

Resolved, That the Governor communicate these resolutions to the Supreme Executive of the State of Virginia, and at the same time express to him that this legislature cannot contemplate, without extreme concern, the very unwarrantable resolutions aforesaid of the Legislature of Virginia, passed on the twenty-first day of December last.

SAMUEL EDDY, *Secretary.*

A true copy.

Rhode Island did not see, or would not admit that the Constitution fully meets such cases; and as the constitution is back of, and the creator of all courts and legislation, the very suggestion shows the disregard for the Constitution. She attempts to dictate the tribunal, and interpret the Constitution: the very things the resolutions are charged with doing. The action of the legislative or judicial powers upon a case plainly unconstitutional, does not make it a lawful act. The Constitution is not

subject to any tribunal, for it has none except the people who made it. The strength of the arm of one State in deciding questions is certainly as efficient as the arm of a dozen States, for the measure is the majority. A larger constituency does not avail. Note the progress of the "Public School System" of the State. Then the National "Banking system," always unsatisfactory, the "Postal system," never self-sustaining, and the "Monetary system," with such blunders as the lack of "Legal Tender," and changing standards.

State of Vermont—In the House of Representatives, October 30, A. D. 1799. The House proceeded to take under their consideration the resolutions of the General Assembly of Virginia, relative to certain measures of the general government, transmitted to the legislature of this State for their consideration; whereupon,

Resolved, That the General Assembly of Vermont do highly disapprove of the resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia, as being unconstitutional in their nature, and dangerous in their tendency. It belongs not to State Legislatures to decide on the constitutionality of laws made by the general government, this power being exclusively vested in the judiciary courts of the Union. That his excellency the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of this resolution to the executive of Virginia to be communicated to the General Assembly of that State, and that the same be sent to the Governor and council for their concurrence.

SAMUEL F. CROFTS, *Clerk.*

In Council, October 30, 1799. Read and concurred in unanimously.

RICHARD WHITING, *Secretary.*

See the assumption of the above answers, that the General Government existed prior to and was the creator of State authority, and could ignore any argument.

I shall yet give the Calhoun resolutions, which were submitted to the Senate on December 27th, 1837, to show the disposition of the people as to the existence of slavery, and the import of the Constitution as late as 1837, only twenty-three years before the outbreak of the war. From this you will see that there was no attempt to amend the Constitution, or to sustain an argument against the resolutions as offered and adopted by the various legislative bodies defending the same.

1. *Resolved*, In the adoption of the Federal Constitution the States adopting the same acted severally as free, independent and sovereign States, and that each for itself, by its own voluntary assent, entered the Union with a view to its increased security against all dangers, domestic as well as foreign, and the more perfect and secure enjoyment of its advantages, natural, political and social.

2. *Resolved*, That in delegating a portion of their powers to be exercised by the Federal Government, the States retained, severally, the exclusive and sole right over their own domestic institutions and police, and are alone responsible for them, and that any intermeddling of any one or more States, or a combination of their citizens, with the domestic institutions and police of the others on any ground, or under any pretext whatever, political, moral or religious, with a view to their alteration or subversion, is an assumption of superiority not warranted by the

Constitution, insulting to the States interfered with, tending to endanger their domestic peace and tranquility, subversive to the objects for which the Constitution was formed, and by necessary consequence, tending to weaken and destroy the Union itself.

3. *Resolved,* That this government was instituted and adopted by the several States of this Union, as a common agent, in order to carry into effect the power which they had delegated by the Constitution for their mutual security and prosperity, and that in the fulfillment of this high and sacred trust, this government is bound so to exercise its powers as to give, as far as may be practicable, increased stability and security to the domestic institutions of the States that compose the Union, and that it is the solemn duty of the government to resist all attempts, by one portion of the Union, to use it as an instrument to attack the domestic institutions of another, or to weaken or destroy such institutions.

4. *Resolved,* That domestic slavery, as it exists in the Southern and Western States of the Union, composes part of their domestic institutions inherited from their ancestors, and existing at the adoption of the Constitution, by which it is recognized as constituting an essential element in the distribution of its power among the States, and that no change of opinion or feeling on the part of the other States of the Union in relation to it, can justify them, or their citizens in open and systematic attacks thereon, with the view to its overthrow, and that all such attacks are in manifest violation of the mutual and solemn pledge to protect and defend each other given by

the States respectively, on entering into the constitutional compact which formed the Union, and as such is a manifest breach of faith, and a violation of the most solemn obligations.

Fifth, as proposed by Mr. Calhoun:

Resolved, That the intermeddling of any State or States, or their citizens, to abolish slavery in this District, or in any of the Territories, on the ground, or under the pretext, that it is immoral or sinful, on the passage of any act or measure of Congress with that view, would be a direct and dangerous attack on the institution of the slave-holding States.

(As amended on motion of Mr. Clay, of Kentucky.)

5. *Resolved,* That when the District of Columbia was ceded by the States of Virginia and Maryland to the United States, domestic slavery existed in both of these States, including the ceded territory; and that as it still continues in both of them, it could not be abolished within the District without a violation of that good faith which was implied in the cession, and in the acceptance of the territory, nor unless compensation were made for the States, without a manifest infringement of the Constitution of the United States; nor without exciting a degree of just alarm and apprehension in the States recognizing slavery, far transcending in mischievous tendency any possible benefit which would be accomplished by the abolition. And,

Resolved, That any attempt of Congress to abolish slavery in any territory of the United States in which it exists, would create serious alarm and just apprehension in the States sustaining that domestic institution, would be a violation of good faith

towards the inhabitants of such territory who have been permitted to settle with and hold slaves, because the people of such territory have not asked for the abolition of slavery therein, and because that, when any such territory shall be admitted into the Union as a State, the people thereof will be entitled to decide that question for themselves.

This resolution as drawn and amended by Mr. Clay was adopted with only eight dissenting votes.

Now, to go back to the adoption of the famous resolutions and election of Jefferson to the Presidency. The hatred of the North towards the South knew no bounds after this new discomfiture. It did not die with the generation, as has been shown, but parents taught their children to hate the name of Jefferson and the South. Jefferson, in writing to Mazzie and to the Paris Monitor, says: "Our political situation is prodigiously changed since you left us. Instead of noble love of liberty and that republican government which carried us through the war, an Anglo Monarchic aristocratic party has arisen. Their avowed object is to impose upon us the form of the British Government, but the principal body of our citizens remain faithful to the republican principles. They would wrest from us that liberty which we have obtained by so much labor and peril.

"Again Jefferson said, "The alien and sedition law is but an experiment, and if this goes down with the people, we shall see Congress attempting to declare that the President shall continue in office for life, and finally the transfer of succession to his heirs."

In the "Olive Branch" by Matthew Carey, the facts are set forth in relation to a conspiracy in New England to break up the Republic as early as 1796. He says, a Northern Confederacy has been the object for a number of years. To sow discord, jealousy, and hostility was the first step towards this object. In the famous Pelham papers it was stated, "The Northern States can subsist as a nation without the South. It cannot be contested that if the Southern States were possessed of the same political ideas, our union would be more close, but when it becomes a serious question whether we shall give up our government or part with the States south of the Potomac river, no man north of that river, whose heart is not thoroughly Democratic, can hesitate what decision to make."

This was in 1796, and it proves that the Democratic form of government was the cause of all the trouble between the sections, though it embodied a compact entered into by all of the States only eight years before. You will observe, of course, that the Northern section contemplated seceding, not in defense of the existing Constitution, but in opposition to it.

The difference between the North and the South in the question of secession was only a matter of nerve. It is admitted that the North wished to sever the Union at "Mason and Dixon Line."

I may remind you again without giving undue importance to this matter, that the political peace of our country, which resulted in the late terrible strife, was begun seventy years before. Thus, when there was no longer a hope of changing the govern-

ment into the Hamiltonian views another plan was adopted, by which they hoped to gain territory and secure votes to accomplish their end. Hence the civil war was not one to settle the question whether State rights should be maintained, or whether the administration should be sovereign, though it involved this also —this battle was fought out at the constitutional convention, but the test was, should the Constitution be regarded, and the confidence that adopted it be respected or ignored. So the foul work of inciting to indignity was begun by the murderous hand of threatened injustice.

In conjunction with the British spy Henry, the Federal leaders settled upon the negro question as the best to bring about the object they sought. Now, the North had no love for the negro as all know, for they had just gotten rid of all of theirs; the climate being too severe for them. Let it be remembered here as true, that the slave trade was looked upon, as it existed in the early years of our nation, as a real blessing to the negroes.

In Africa they were all slaves to heathen masters, and lived upon snakes and toads. Thousands were butchered as sacrifices to negro divinities. Their own offspring were eaten for food, and were gladly sold when an opportunity was offered. Washington, Jefferson, Madison and all the leading men of the land owned slaves, and were considered benefactors. Before the birth of Christ slavery existed and their posterity was inherited by their sons and daughters. So you see that the simple inheritance of slaves did not become such a heinous crime all at once, especially in a land whose government provided against its being

a crime. In Solomon's time it was legal to marry a dozen wives but the system was not abolished by the bayonet.

The South was the first to issue Acts against bringing more slaves into the country, and imposed a tax upon them in some of the States. So at the time of the agitation of the slave question there were no slaves being brought into the South, excepting such as could be smuggled.

There were almost as many free negroes in the South at the time of the war as slaves. Some of the negroes themselves owned slaves.

The leading slave holders were liberating their slaves at the age of twenty-one and seeing after them. Very few men sold slaves at this time, but many of them kept themselves poor, feeding and caring for the negroes in their charge. It became an adage, "that the pigs ate the corn and the negroes ate the pigs." It was conceded by all that a negro with a master was superior to a free one; in fact, the slaves looked with scorn upon a free negro. There were many collections of free negroes in the South at the time of the breaking out of the war, and they lived upon the hen roosts of the community principally. Without questioning the feasibility of freeing the negro, the most reasonable plan surely would have been to free the worthy ones at a certain age and thus have the best ones as a nucleus for a development. It was plainly against all order of evolution to rise so suddenly to such a position as full citizenship.

You remember that only in 1787 the Northern States voted against the abolition of slavery, the Southern States voting for

it. Had the Northern cities anticipated that the negroes would take advantage of the amendments to the Constitution and flock to their States as citizens, their actions had been different, as is regretfully stated by the inhabitants of those cities now, They are getting a dose of their own medicine in the North now with regard to the negro. The movement against slavery began in 1820 when Missouri was added to the Union. Jefferson said, in a letter to Lafayette, "On the eclipse of Federation with us, but not its extinction, its leaders have set up the false front of lessening the measure of slavery by the Missouri question, but with the real view of producing a geographical division of parties which might insure them the next President." The Federalists knew they could not alter the Constitution to manage the matter of citizenship, but showed their disposition to break the solemn compact contained in the Constitution. As the two parties existed at the time of framing the Constitution they understood each other, and were honorably bound to defend it as construed at the time; hence any attempt to distort it to their sectional advantage meant treason and false dealing. The status of the Federalists was now to array the one section against the other and they were assisted by one Henry, who was sent here by the Governor of Canada, whose name was Craig. Craig's instructions to Henry, dated Quebec, February, 1809, were the following: "I request you to proceed with the earliest convenience to Boston. The known intelligence and ability of several of its leading men must give it a considerable influence over the other States and will probably lead them in the part they are to

take. It has been supposed that if the Federalists of the Eastern States should be successful and obtain the decided influence which may enable them to direct public opinion, it is not impossible that rather than submit they will exert their influence to bring about a separation from the general Union. I inclose a credential, but you must not use it unless you are satisfied it will lead to more confidential communication."

This conspiracy between the agents of Canada and the leading Federalists of New England came to the knowledge of Madison, who was President, and he laid all the proofs before Congress. The President said to Congress, "I lay before you copies of certain documents which remain in the department of the State. They prove that at a recent period, on the part of British Government through its public minister here, a secret agent of that government was employed in certain States in fomenting disaffection to the constitutional authorities of the country, and intrigued with the disaffected for the purpose of bringing about resistance to the laws, and eventually in concert with a British force, of destroying the Union and forming the eastern part thereof into a political connection with Great Britain."

Henry had written to the authorities, who had employed him in Canada, that although he found the leaders of the Federalists of New England ripe for any measure which could sever the Union, yet the masses of the people held so strongly to the sentiment of Union that he doubted if it could be immediately dissolved. He suggested that the best way to further this scheme

of disunion would be to get up some sectional domestic question on which the prejudices and passions of the people could be permanently divided. This, he was sure, would in time accomplish disunion. Sending John Brown to Harper's Ferry with his commission, and the Fleet to reinforce Sumter did the work.

This book does not pretend to defend slavery as it concerns the white population, but does maintain that it has been of inestimable benefit to the negro, as he could not have come here in any other way, nor can he ever live here in any other way except to the discomfort of all. It is also maintained that the negro reaches his climax for usefulness and credit to himself as a subordinate. Follow the lineage of Ham from the time he disgraced his father, and you will find him rising no higher than a servant. The very darkest aspect of the whole thing—that of separating families—was only appreciated by the negro as he became civilized by his environments in slavery, for in Africa they do not value their own offspring, but destroy them or sell them when opportunity affords. Slave dealers only obtained their slaves by one tribe conquering another and delivering same into the hands of the slave dealers, or by the consent of parents, getting up their children and selling them. The very false stories that a vessel's crew could go into the jungles and drive out as many negroes as they wished, is grossly vile and was hatched along with many others by the unconscionable and incorrigible prejudice of partisans, and for an equally vile purpose. Such things are still being taught and believed to an

extent in the frigid section of our country, of which you are aware.

The stories of masters beating slaves are almost all false. The writer remembers seeing a slave draw a club on his master and theraten to kill him because he urged him to go to work. Masters were as often mistreated as slaves.

The whole progress of the abolition movement shows that it has been a plot of British monarchists, aided by a set of men in this country, to destroy the Government as it was formed by Washington. Jefferson, writing to Governor Langdon, says: "The Toryism with which we struggled in 1776 differed from the Federalism of 1799, only in name, and the English Monarchism against which we are now struggling is but the same thing in another form. It is longing for a King." You remember that the Legislature of Massachusetts introduced the following resolution: "And therefore be it

Resolved, That we recommend Caleb Strong to take the revenues of the State with his own hands, arm and equip the militia and declare us independent of the United States."

About the same time some of New England's men said, "Our disease is Democracy." "Our country is too big for Union." Rev. Dr. Dwight said: "The Declaration of Independence is a wicked thing." One of the leading papers of New England declared: "We never fought for a Republic; our Government is the result of necessity, not of choice." Mr. Bryce, Embassador from England, intimates that the opposition to Democracy was successful in establishing its ideas in the Con-

stitution; but if so, why is it still opposed by the followers of Hamilton, Garrison, Seward, Lincoln and Roosevelt in his turn: and why has Democracy had to support it? The Boston Gazette threatened President Madison with death if he attempted to compel the Eastern States to fight against England, and many other such violent and bitter things were hurled against the South for being true to the form of government decided upon by the Union of States. Plucky little South Carolina was very much aggrieved over the tariff act of 1828 and threatened to nullify the laws, but finally compromised the matter. I say plucky South Carolina, for the reason that she furnished as many soldiers for the Revolutionary war as all the New England States together. At the time South Carolina was having this trouble in '32 and '33, Massachusetts took down from her State House the U. S. flag, and publicly said that it should not wave over them longer. The right to secede was taught at West Point.

A great flurry was caused in the North by this dissatisfaction of South Carolina, but they overlooked the fact that the Act in relation to the return of "fugitives from service" was openly and distinctly nullified by nearly every Northern State. Lloyd Garrison, who was called the father of abolitionism, inaugurated his movement by burning the Constitution of the United States. He declared, "No act of ours do we regard with so much conscientious approval, or with higher satisfaction, than when we, on the 4th of July, in the presence of a great assembly, committed to the flames the Constitution of the United States." He

said, "this Union is a lie, I am for its overthrow. Up with the flag of disunion." If such men had been hanged, there had been no violation of and disrespect for the Constitution later, and hence there had been no war. Wendell Phillips said, "The Constitution of our fathers was a mistake; tear it to pieces." It has been torn to pieces, and the advocates of the destruction have become so docile as to say, Oh, don't stir up the difference between the North and the South; since it is settled let it rest. Yes, for shame's sake let it rest, but for the sake of the truth, and the hope of ultimate redemption from the stigma of error, let it not rest.

Now I hope you have not grown tired of this list of indignities; but I have a desire to strongly impress the fact that those offenders labored to destroy this grand government because it was formed in opposition to tyranny and oppression. The South was blamed, not for treason, as you have seen, but for the support of a compact, of which the North itself had been a party in shaping. Not until later did the idea of rebellion and treason occur to the hot heads of the North. If the South ever had a sentiment, it was a peculiar pride and reverence for their Government, as expressed in the Constitution. Their devotion to their compact originally shaped, amounted almost to worship. The conception of our fathers with regard to an instrument of Constitution was, that it was the fundamental principle of all that was to take place afterwards.

Listen to Washington's farewell address to the American

people. He said, "The basis of all our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitution of government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic Act of the whole, is sacredly obligatory upon all." You will notice that there was no attempt to alter the Constitution, as all had agreed it should be until then.

Let me quote the tenth Article of the Constitution, which occurs also in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States:" Also, the second Article in the Articles of confederation: "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled. When the distribution of legislative powers are vested in a constitution it is contained in a single instrument; otherwise it is collected from ancient usages, legislative Acts, judicial decisions, etc. The Government of the United States is an illustration of a single instrument, and every Act of Congress, contrary thereto, is unconstitutional and therefore void."

Doubtless you have heard Calhoun called the father of disunion; but nothing could be further from the truth. Calhoun's great speech, the greatest ever made in America, maintained that the Constitution would have to be amended if the negroes were to have their freedom. On March 17, 1850, in

a speech in the Senate of the United States, when he knew he was a dying man, Calhoun said, "No man would feel more happy than myself to believe that this Union, formed by our ancestors, should live forever. Looking back to the long course of forty years of service here I have the consolation to believe that I have done full justice to all sections, and if I have been exposed to the imputation of a contrary motive, it is because I have been willing to defend my section from unconstitutional encroachments."

Jefferson Davis, in a speech in the Senate, June 27, 1850, said: "If I have a superstition which governs my mind and holds it captive it is a superstitious reverence for the Union; I may be said to have inherited this from my Revolutionary father."

Garrison and Seward admitted that the Constitution gave the States a right to decide as to its citizens. There were two factions in the Federal party, one led by Garrison, the other by Seward. Garrison wanted to secede from the South while Seward wanted to drive the South to withdraw. Seward's faction triumphed, and at once set up his idea of the law of nations as against the constitutional agreement, in his works, vol. 3, page 301. This gave a new impetus to the enmity against the South. He scorned all free government in toto. He held that there were laws higher than that of the Constitution, forgetting that the people made the Constitution, and it was for the people to say what province it should hold. The same theory is held now in defense of lynch law, and in

the North they howl at that. It is not practiced now in defiance of law, but in defence of same; not for want of sufficient law, but for the lack of execution of the same. In the one case the law is upheld, and in consequence the upbraiding; in the other the contingency of a crooked and violated condition existed. To advocate liberties without law is only to support anarchy in its most unadulterated form, whilst laws without liberties is only tyranny, and can and ought to be corrected. Our laws originally were so constructed as to deal with all parties equally, but here in a criminal case the evidence is not equal excepting as it pertains to numbers, for we are met with the sworn testimony of a score of the dusky brethren of clanny inclinations, that an arraigned party was at such a place at time of crime, and the law becomes helpless to convict because an inferior, unconscious tribe has been thrust upon us as equals in point of intelligence, morals, etc., to the great detriment of the superior race.

If all the lynchings of a year, with their horrors, were combined, they would not present an aspect as awful as one cause of a lynching. O, that such victims could be only lynched and nothing more. He is no gentleman nor Christian either who could say be kind to the criminal when his wife or daughter was the victim of such an outrage. The word horrible loses its significance beside the crime demanding lynch law, yet you never hear the North decrying such crimes.

Will deal more at length upon this matter in the third division of my subject.

On the 26th of September, 1854, a convention was called at the home of Seward, the object of which was to organize the Republican party. Wendell Phillips declared that it was the first sectional party ever formed in this country; "it is pledged against the South." The Democrats warned the Republicans that the South would not live under a government which was to be administered to destroy them. The Southern men were laughed to scorn. About this time occurred the great Kansas excitement. This was a mere State-territory and when it seemed probable that it would be settled mainly by Southern men, New England organized emigrant societies and filled it up with abolitionists, and sent out men like John Brown, who, as you know, murdered whole families in cold blood. One may see at Chambersburg to-day the house at which he lodged while preparing to invade Virginia.

Nothing that the South could do short of surrendering their free institutions and their State rights could have satisfied the factions of the North. The people honestly believed that society and their lives would not be safe in the Union as administered by such men. The Presidential campaign, which soon followed, was conducted with such violence and malignity toward the South that it might well alarm the people of that section. The famous Helper book, of which 10,000 were circulated, was the chief document of the campaign. It contained such sentences: "We contend that slave holders are worse criminals than common murderers." "The negroes, nine out of ten cases, would be delighted to cut their masters' throats."

"Small-pox is a nuisance, strychnine is a nuisance, mad dogs are a nuisance, and so are slave-holders." At a meeting in Massachusetts the following resolution was unimously passed:

Resolved, "That it is the right and duty of slaves to resist their masters and the right and duty of the North to incite them to resistance, and to aid them in it."

Lincoln was nominated by the party endorsing John Brown. Above the chair of the President at the convention was placed a huge wooden knife twelve feet long. No wonder the Southern people demanded some pledges that the many threats should not be visited upon them. If I fail to give correctly the ideas held by the sections, term me a fanatic also, and count it for what it is worth. Now remember that the South had never talked of secession except as a remedy for aggrievances upon their constitutional rights. On the other hand, in the North, as you cannot have failed to see, there was always a busy working to overthrow the Union because it hated the Constitution as admitted, and was at enmity with the South from an old grudge, growing out of the early conflict between the monarchical principles of Hamilton and those of Jefferson.

This old hatred on the part of the North, which had been burning and smouldering ever since the establishment of the Government, was now recruited by the fiery and fanatical element of abolitionism to such an extent that the conflict long threatened by the North, and dreaded by the South, burst upon the country. All but South Carolina came to the conclusion of withdrawing after doing all in their power to prevent it, and

withdrew from those who would not keep their compact, very reluctantly. It was simply a seceding from secession. Many Republicans seceded and gave teams to the confederacy in Virginia when they saw the whole South was to be treated alike, no matter what his politics, or whether he owned slaves or not. Again and again representatives tried to compromise the trouble, offered resolutions, and asked the North what more they wanted to satisfy them; but the South could get no satisfactory answer. Repeatedly the South was thus slapped in the face and dared to wink. Hamilton's defeat at the Constitutional convention, and his further failure to misconstrue the meaning of the Constitution, called forth great sympathy from his friends, in opposition to the popular Jeffersonian principles.

The term rebels was at last imposed upon the South by the North in order to presume to be for the Union themselves. If Davis had wished to dismember the Union he would have taken some steps towards it while in the cabinet of Pierce as Secretary of War. A traitor might have been dangerous with the guns in his hands. At last, dear reader, when the truth of history shall be its glory, the then existing generation shall have a full conception of the prejudice of a fanatical section of states. Of course there were lots of illiterate men who did not know that the South had kept the Union of States so long, and had made the nation and the flag what it was. The South had not even thought of a flag under which to fight until at Harper's Ferry, when the militia captured John Brown, and some one asked, "under what flag shall we fight?" when the

noted Ashby grasped the flag of Virginia and said, "I am going to fight under this." At this time Virginia began to drill the militia, seeing the war was coming.

In order to show still further the disposition of the South towards the Union, will mention some of the measures taken to avert war. First the great Crittendon compromise, in which the South offered to give up three-fourths of the territory to the North, though they had equal rights with them. This sacrifice was rejected. Mr. Clemens then proposed to submit the matter to the vote of the people, which was also rejected. Senator Douglas then said, "If you Republicans will not accept any of these compromises what are you willing to do? I am speaking to you, Republicans, for if you are willing to accept nothing but war you are responsible for it, for the only difficulty in the way of a compromise is the Republican party."

You remember Douglas was ejected bodily from the hall in Philadelphia by the party that stole the name of the party which alone had the right to claim the name, having made the Republic of which the name is a representation.

The framers of our institutions had to assume the name of Democratic Republican in distinction from the monarchial spirit of the Whig, now Republican party. Next this party stole the flag of the States to fight the States that defended it in the war of 1812. Where were these patriots of New England when England was trying to tear down the "Stars and Stripes" at Bladensburg and North Point? What a shame for the North to claim a right to own it, when it disgraced it by offering

to defeat it. Do you not observe the same spirit in New England to-day, in protecting her own commerce in preference to the country's good?

But you have not heard all that the South did to prevent the horrors of war, for when everything else had failed, old Virginia asked that a convention be called, of one or more from each State, to see if they could not hit upon some plan to save the Union. This created such a clamor for peace that the North had to agree to send representatives, but at once they set themselves to work to prevent those from going to the convention who wanted peace. Carl Shurz telegraphed to the Governor to appoint such commissioners, "myself one, who will strengthen our side." Chandler did the same thing in his State.

It may be stated by the fanatics that as the South organized a confederacy, with Davis President, they levied war upon the North; but it was only a provisional government, into which they hoped all would come and be at home. The new constitution was same in substance as original, except being rid of any ambiguity in points which the fanatics tried to misconstrue.

Immediately after Lincoln's inauguration the Southern men sent a commission to Washington to negotiate for a peaceable adjustment of the matters of forts, &c. These commissioners were told that just at the moment nothing could be done, but at an early date they should be heard. Week after week they were delayed; while Lincoln and Seward were secretly planning to reinforce Fort Sumpter, of South Carolina, with one of the largest naval fleets ever seen upon American

waters. To further show their insincerity, finally they were promised the rights to the markets of Charleston for provisions and that no attempt to reinforce the garrison should be made, while at the same time they were making the most stupendous preparations to reinforce it.

Judge Campbell, of the Supreme Court, was the agent through whom this treaty was made. After finding out that Lincoln and Seward were deceiving him he wrote to Seward and accused him of his course of fraud in the matter. Seward never dared an attempt in answer. Seward had told Campbell that Fort Sumpter would be evacuated in a few days, at which time he was completing his arrangements not to evacuate it. Campbell, becoming uneasy as to Seward's faith being kept, again wrote him to that effect, when Seward telegraphed back, "Faith as to Sumpter kept; wait and see." In a very few days they did see the fleet threatening the city. Is it any wonder the South refused to trust them upon any further propositions? Beauregard proposed to Anderson that if he would promise not to reinforce the fort, he would not fire upon it; but Anderson flatly refused to so promise, when Beauregard decided to prevent its reinforcement by occupying it himself.

By the law of nations this was a declaration of war. It needs not the firing of a gun to begin war. The leading journals of Europe said at the time that was fairly begun by the North in fitting out the fleet. To allow Lincoln's forces to reinforce the forts of the South would have been to put everything into the hands of the powers at Washington, who had proven

themselves incapable of showing the least respect to their own most solemnly uttered promises and compacts.

The firing of the forts, which lasted for twelve hours from both sides, resulted in Major Anderson running up a flag of distress, when Beauregard sent a boat to him and offered to assist in putting out the fire, but before the boat reached him he hoisted a flag of truce. Not a man was killed on either side. When Anderson surrendered his sword Beauregard at once returned it to him and allowed him on leaving the fort to salute it with fifty guns. Lincoln held a reception and greatly rejoiced at the result of Beauregard defending the fort against the fleet, and the cry that "the flag has been fired upon" was sent like wild fire through the North to raise troops and deceive the people; and thus the work of firing up the minds of the Northern people had begun. Without such schemes they never could have raised an army. Two days after this the first war proclamation was made and the work of destroying the State government by the general government was fairly begun, and was started by one who had accepted his election by State Rights and not by the popular vote.

It is said Lincoln proposed to emancipate gradually by proclamation. He knew full well that was beyond his province. Then to excuse himself he said it was a war measure. If so, how did he get Maryland and Delaware and Missouri in it? Those states did not secede, did they?

So thus the Sovereignty of the States was employed to subvert the Sovereignty of States. No one was allowed to ar-

gue against the proceedings, as the bands played and the excited people yelled. What an unwarranted presumption for a minority to set up judgment against a majority, after the minority had broken faith. What could be more absurd than for a party to derive from the very act of violation, justification of their conduct.

Truly the most dangerous enemy a country has is themselves; their passions and their zeal. It was sheer blindness that led men to attempt to force a Union, a very despotism. The time was for the representatives of the people to judge of the propriety, the utility and necessity of such a Constitution, but that time was past—the work done. To change it now, belonged to the three-fourth vote. If the love of liberty and justice prompted the Constitution, and intelligence made it, what God-given powers are there to ignore it. The animals have natural protection for their bodies, men depend upon some agreement of protection of their own making. What avails a Constitutional liberty if it can be destroyed by any other power extant? If a State cannot make an Act of Congress void, no more can the general government made a State law void. There existed State sovereignties as well as United States sovereignties. If one abides by no Constitution there is no restraint upon such a political body, who are answerable to none but themselves. It was decided at Gettysburg that the constitution did not count by party might, but such decision has not reached the Constitution proper.

The Republican party said it was friendly to the States and

the enemies to consolidation of general government, and yet to accomplish a paltry object, were willing to settle a principle which would eventually plant a consolidated government upon the government of States. Can you talk to men of transgressions when there are none to judge of transgression but themselves.

Still further, if it be questionable whether the legislature can do what the Constitution has not explicity authorized, there can be no question that it cannot do what the Constitution expressly prohibits. In all free governments its powers are exercised by different men, and the Union of the several powers in one head is the peculiar characteristic of despotism. We have a division of constitutional powers and provinces strongly marked, and every act of one or all of the branches tending to confound these powers must be destructive of the Constitution. Our government was founded on the principles which constitute the difference between a Constitution and a despotic power. A distribution of the powers of the legislative, executive, and judiciary, with several hands. By the first, all legislative power is given to Congress; by the second, all executive functions are vested in the President, and the third declares that the judiciary powers shall be exercised by the Supreme and Inferior Courts; but the judiciary powers of course could not be used to alter established laws—only to enforce them.

Who were the usurpers of power in the contention? Did the strong government accuse the States of struggling for

more authority than they had always had, or was it not the other way, that the general government was ever aiming to encroach upon the States—the creature scowling at the creator. The object of the fanatics was to get away the power from the States, which they always held, and more than was ever contended for at the birth of the Constitution.

Patrick Henry predicted that absolute despotism would ensue, should a bad or monarchical man be elected. He advocated the principle adopted by Switzerland, which held dissimilar forms of government, but always held together, and were formidable to infringements from other nations.

Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, recently made a speech at the University of Iowa, in which he said, "The fate of a nation in last resort depends upon individual characters." When the people were considering the adoption of the Constitution one of the statesmen said, "The only security of a nation is when the rulers have the same interest of the people, and if they have not, the Constitutional restraints will break down somewhere." But the very Constitutional safeguard needed and achieved was against anarchy and monarchy. Hoar attempts to place character in distinction from the Constitution; but who framed and adopted the Constitution, and for what? Did not the finest characters obtainable figure in the make-up of the Constitution and provide for its defects by recommending amendments thereto? The judicial powers would have held the lack of unity, of interest, and of character, which broke the Constitu-

tional compact, a treasonable crime. But it was neither within its province nor that of Congress.

Senator Hoar has also very recently said, in upbraiding Holmes, of the same State, "the right and wrong of our judicial power for right or wrong, will not be settled under the present form of government. There will always be that antagonistic spirit, and the bench will rule according to the leanings of the constituents." Said he, "A boat cut loose from its moorings is a risky craft, which may reach its destination, but more apt to become a wreck."

After forty years he sees through different eyes from his brethren who advocated no moorings. He has not yet however come forward like a man and admitted that our fathers of the Southern clime were right. The same was apparent in the life and experience of James G. Blaine. He who had fought hard for the tariff laws in all of its phases, finally came to see and say that reciprocity was the salvation of our country. But the Republican party is king, and no man dares to make innovations at the risk of his political life. Not one of the many points of difference for which the South stood has ever been reversed by the Supreme Court. A very significant fact.

But I must hasten to bring this section of communication to a close. We have come to the beginning of the war in our consideration of the subject. Are you not surprised that it did not come sooner? Can you, who I hope will look at the matter without prejudice, see any sincerity in one section of the country presuming to force another section, by sheer scheming

and deception, to desist from doing summarily and immediately what the latter had done itself but a short time previous under protection of the same law as had existed all along? You know the North had owned slaves and voted against abolishing the same and admitted that the Constitution protected slavery, and that no effort was even made to amend the Constitution so as to nullify slavery. No measures ever taken to punish any cruelty to slaves.

Again, can you see any common sense, outside of the evidence to the contrary, in the South fighting, as they did, simply to destroy their own property, the free institutions, as they were accused of doing? They craved no territory, but had just given all that is included in Ohio, Illinois and Indiana, and by their resolutions offered still more for sake of peace. They expressed no desire or inclination either directly or by implication to criticise or dictate to the North, nor were they every chargeable with any breach of contract.

Is it not plainly apparent now that the Republican party could have saved hostilities and war if it had wished to do so. Will yet give you the opinion of some of the leading statesmen concerning the constitutional right to secede, as well as the feasibility of same.

The Constitution originally read, we, of the States United, not we, the United States. The latter was not allowed in the compact because all of the States were numbered and named, and would have had no redress, upon an aggrievance. The right to withdraw was deliberately decided upon by right of reserva-

tion. Owing to the limited press and the scanty circulation of literature at that time, the discussions at the conventions were not diffused generally, as such things now are, but were known to the leaders, and the more intelligent only.

Madison, who was called the father of the Constitution, said in the convention that made the Constitution, "Any government for the United States formed upon supposed practicability of using force against the unconstitutional proceedings of the States would prove visionary and fallacious." President Jackson said at his farewell address to the people of the United States, "The Constitution cannot be maintained nor the Union preserved in opposition to public feelings by the mere exertion of the coercive powers confided to the general government." Buchanan's message to Congress was, "Has the Constitution delegated to Congress the power to coerce a State into submission, which is attempting to withdraw or has actually withdrawn from the Confederacy?" If answered in the affirmative, it must be on the principle that the power has been conferred on Congress to make war against a State. A Union of States cannot be construed to mean the result of the destruction of the identity of the States. A union of things is a plurality, not a unit. Not a consolidation.

It is manifest, upon an inspection of the Constitution, that this is not among the specific and enumerated powers granted to Congress. If this had been so, the close of the war would have determined the matter, and established existing conditions without amending the Constitution. So far from

this power having been delegated to Congress, it was especially refused by the convention which framed the Constitution. But these well sustained principles are not what justified the Southern sentiment only. Listen, Lee said over and over that "All the South asks is that the government as framed by our fathers be not tampered with." No assurance of honesty could be had, which was a proof of dishonesty.

It cannot be asserted that the South would not free its slaves, and for this reason the war was precipitated, for several States had voted upon the matter with almost a majority in its favor. Now, if the States originally held right to determine as to its citizenship, and had never disposed of such right, what manner of means would allow a combination of States to act for such States, or independent of them. The idea of the Constitution was that the threat of a State to revolt at an aggrievance should call for sympathy and protection from the Federal Government, and not criticism and reprimand. Martin Luther and George Washington rebelled against lawful authority, yet what they secured in religion and civics made them very popular; so much so that it is impossible to conceive of the colonies voluntarily entering a compact against their liberties, and in favor of centralized power. No reference is here made to the Roman Catholic faith, for it was the faith of all our fathers, but to sovereignty and exclusiveness.

Massachusetts was so eager to push the trouble to war that she began to prepare for war before the election of Lincoln. The Governor boasted of the fact that her troops were passing

through New York on their way to Washington before the President's proclamation had been generally read. They came yelling like Indians and went through the city singing John Brown is marching on. It was only too true, the soul of Brown was in them and on its second raid. This second raid was on a grander scale and carried on by a Federal administration at the expense of the people of the United States. They were the traitors who but a few years ago had publicly burned the Constitution on the Fourth of July in Boston. This State had supported a paper for twenty-five years that flaunted the motto, "The Union is an agreement with death, and a covenant with hell." The Union they clamored for was such as should be dictated by them on a new platform, and not a Union such as they intimated and preached to the people. A prominent man of the same State said that "this war would put an end to Democracy, which would be worth all the blood that should be shed." Some men held that for expediency's sake the South might have yielded to the misconstruction, but to trade a principle for policy is dangerous work.

More than two-thirds of the soldiers never realized until after they were in service some time, that the war was to be used to enfranchise the negro. Many of them complained and threatened to revolt at prospects of such a calamity, when they were assured that such was not the case, by some of the officers. Grant himself said: "If I thought this war would free the negro I would put my sword in its scabbard and go home." I remember yet distinctly of hearing my father, who was a

Maryland conservative at the time, say to an avowed Republican abolitionist, that the time would come when the negro would march up to the polls and vote with him. Of course he hooted at the idea of this, and like all these bitter people, he went from one degree to another, and the next thing he was heard to say was that he had as leave see a negro next President as a white man. I might thus fill pages of similar almost incredible facts. Hope you have seen by now that the Southern people were not of the rebel kind, but had always had pride in principles—were kind and charitable.

As forty years have passed since our country passed through the troublous times herein spoken of, the passions of men have had time to cool, and it is right that the children of the South should have a true history of the part their fathers took in that period which "tried men's souls." It becomes necessary for every one to do all he can to heal the wounds of the past, and to cultivate that patriotism which is one of the highest elements of our nation, because the histories of the war which have been written for the schools have been compiled by those who were so-called victors in the conflict. We are glad to see the Southern States dispensing with such books as contain the Battle Hymn of the Republic, Marching Through Georgia, &c., though some such books contain such fine diction that there is a sacrifice in that direction. The ridiculous is still in existence as far south as Maryland, for some teachers yet have their pupils recite Barbara Freitchie, and teach the pathos of John Brown kissing the negro baby.

That the record of the South may lose none of its brightness, and that the descendants of those who laid down their lives in the war should know they laid them down, not as rebels, against the government to which they had sworn allegiance, but with the truest loyalty and obedience to the same, I hope to show by the progress of the war that the preparation which the Southern people so hastily made, was made only as a means of protection to themselves, and not a defiance of the general government; and if I succeed in doing so, surely no good man can question their right to put forth all the powers God had given them for the sake of their homes and their families. There should be no crime in differing upon any subject, but the Yankees made the matter of sufficient magnitude to demand bloodshed and war. It is presumed by the North that the States existed by reason of the Union, and that the States did not of free will join the Union with all rights not delegated reserved. What right had the administration, the servant, to dictate the province of the States. Even if it could have been done technically, it had been sheer robbery of the people's confidence.

Almost everybody at the North said, at the beginning of the war, that if Lincoln and his party really intended doing what the Southern people said they would do they would be justified in any course they pursued. It is now seen that they have done just what the southern leaders predicted they would do. I should feel that I had not done justice to the occasion if I failed to give the last speech of Jefferson Davis, delivered in the Senate of the United States, with a mildness and dignity

of voice and manner truly ennobling.

"But we have proclaimed our independence. This is done with no hostility or desire to injure any section of the country, nor even for our pecuniary benefit, but solely from the high and solid motives of defending and protecting the rights we inherited, and transmitting them unshorn to our posterity. I know that I feel no hostility to you Senators here, and am sure that there is not one of you, whatever may have been the sharp discussion between us, to whom I cannot say now, in the presence of my God, I wish you well. And such is the feeling, I am sure, the people I represent have towards those you represent. I therefore feel I but express their desire, when I say, I hope, and they hope, for those peaceful relations with you (though we must part) that may be mutually beneficial to us in the future.

"There will be peace if you so will it; and you may bring disaster upon the whole country if you thus will have it. And if you will have it thus we invoke the God of our fathers, who delivered them from the paw of the lion, to protect us from the ravages of the bear; and thus putting our trust in God, and our own firm hearts and strong arms, we will vindicate and defend the rights we claim.

"In the course of my long career I have met with a great variety of men here, and there have been points of collision between us. Whatever of offence I have given which has not been redressed, I offer my apology for anything I may have done, and I go thus released from obligation, remembering no injury

I have received, and having discharged what I deem the duty of a man, offer the only reparation in my power for doing any injury I ever inflicted."

This is not the language of a conspirator or a traitor. Moreover, to show that this sentiment is substantiated, I have the authority to offer to any one who may wish to make the test of proving Davis or Lee a traitor to his country, the sum of $500. If this is practicable it will require but a bit of paper and ink. If it is not done we may safely conclude that it cannot be done, and we stand justified in thus reciting the cause of the war; for if the South did not betray her trust, as charged, then the war was unjust and monstrously cruel. Davis' persistence in warning his opponents against bringing disaster upon the country, was not a threat to antagonize the Union, as it has been interpreted by politicians of the North, but was a hope that the North would yield to the Constitutional issue rather than dismember the Union. There never was a time when he doubted the justice of the case; he was only reluctant on account of the policy of hastily and vigorously pushing it to a crisis. In his own State he took measures against secession in '50 and '51, and drew the resolutions adopted by the Democratic "State Rights" Convention which declared that secession was the last alternative, the final remedy, and should not be resorted to under existing conditions. He said further, that indiscreet men went too fast, and too far in defense of the issue which caused alarm for the Union, causing a reaction that was extreme in the other direction.

Fresh in the minds of the southern people was the history of the success of the settlers at Jamestown in demanding of the King of England the appointment of a less tyrannical Governor than Harvey; and later Bacon's failure to plant our independence upon the ruins of the famous Navigation Act instead of the Stamp Act one hundred years later by Washington, because of delay. Had Davis' speeches been heeded, the war would have been averted, and our Country's interest advanced by fifty years in comparison.

As the Constitution was formed from the sad experience of the Colonies with Monarchical Government, we cannot doubt the sincerity of our fathers in so persistently holding to its protection from tyranny. The motto of the South has always been "An indissoluble Union of Indestructible States." Davis having been in Congress so long, anticipated what would be precipitated upon the producing section by the manufacturing section of the States, should the acquisition of territory ever determine conditions instead of the Constitution, by the many early tariff disputes. Though Davis was arraigned, and a bill found against him for treason, he was never tried because one of his prosecuting attorneys said, "Gentlemen, the Supreme Court of the United States will have to acquit that man under the Constitution when it will be proven to the world that the North waged an unconstitutional warfare against the South." So the bill was pigeon-holed until Davis died; he had given Horace Greeley as his bondsman, and Reverdy Johnson as his Counsel, and stood ready for a trial. All honors to his ashes who stood

like a pillar of rock upon his convictions of right. When the officer attempted to shackle him, he said, "Mr. Officer do your best as I will do mine," when he flung him across the room. It required several men to overpower him.

Doubtless you are ignorant of the fact that Jefferson Davis was secretary under President Pierce, and that he carved his name in rock out at Cabin John's Bridge, and that Lincoln's secretary went to the trouble of entirely obliterating the inscription. How often it has been the case that the very makers of a worthy character have been the source of enmity and opposition. But patience and endurance count not time nor cost, but measures the date of the coming of justice by the conflicts past, and the struggles ended.

The writer submits the proposition that if Davis was right, which fact has been proven by the futile attempts to convict him, then who was wrong? Thad Stephens expresssed the sentiment of his party when at the passage of the 15th amendment he said, I shall vote for this not because of any constitutional right, but because we have the power.

DEDUCTIONS.

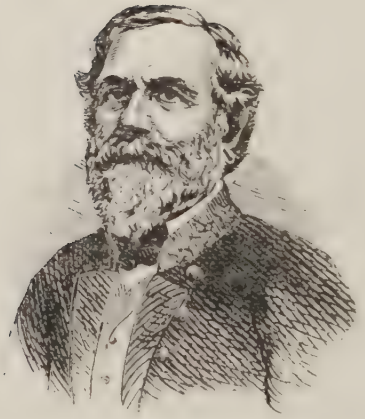
The fanaticisms of the Northern politicians in conjunction with the soreheads of England, caused the war, and not secession; for Rhode Island and Massachusetts both seceded long before, and were begged to come back.

The conditions of the war on the part of the North were Federal power, territory for tariff graft, and finally, slavery. On the part of the South the conditions were threats against constitutional law, and the invasion of their homes.

JEFFERSON DAVIS

"No! not forgotten, though the halls
Of state no more behold him.
No! not forsaken, though the walls
Of dungeon keeps enfold him.
Still dearest to the Southern heart,
Because her first anointed,
The prophet chosen for his part,
The man of God appointed.
If dumb it is that tyrants check
The words that fain were spoken,
And set the foot upon the neck
Of the people they have broken;
If still it is that bond and chain
Each manly limb encumber,
And men but murmur in their pain,
As children talk in slumber.
We bow our foreheads in the dust
In deep humiliation,
Forgetting in our prayerful trust,
Our own dark desolation;
We ask for him who steered our ship
Until it met the breakers,
That the cup may pass that meets his lip
Through mercy of his Maker."

Progress of the War



GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE.

"Forth from its scabbard pure and bright
Flashed the sword of Lee;
Far in front of the deadly fight,
High o'er the brave in cause of right,
Its stainless sheen, like a beacon light,
Led us to many a victory.

Out of its scabbard, where full long
It slumbered peacefully,
Roused from its rest by the battle song,
Shielding the feeble, smiting the strong,
Guarding the right and avenging wrong,
Gleamed the sword of Lee.

Forth from its scabbard, high in the air,
Beneath Virginia's sky,
And they who saw it gleaming there,
And knew who bore it, knelt to swear,
That where his sword led, they would dare
To follow and to die.

Out of its scabbard never gleamed
Sword from stain as free,
Nor brighter sword led braver band,
Nor braver stood for brighter land,
Nor brighter land had a cause so grand,
Nor cause a chief like Lee."

II. PROGRESS OF THE WAR.

Is it not evident that the war began upon the South years ago? The actual fighting only began when the South saw the preparations for war going on, and when, after repeated attempts, she failed to obtain any assurance that war was not to be levied against her. From the grave of Patrick Henry was heard the old alarm: "When shall we be stronger, when we are tied hand and foot?" The South only asked such guarantee as was given her at Appomattox, and war should have been averted. I hope you see that it was only when the force of circumstances compelled them, that they resolved to take a last firm stand for their constitutional rights against insult and imposition. Have you observed the dates of the northern military spirit, how that only when the buying of slaves had ceased at the South did the criminality of slavery appear so heinous as to demand war? Only when the business became unprofitable to England and New England did the conscientious North revolt at the evil. Then it was that the fanatics and politicians busied themselves in getting up fictions of masters beating their slaves, and refusing to allow them to learn to read, etc., which latter was to some extent prohibited, owing to the carpet bagger work in their midst and the circulation of malicious literature. This idea originated from the fact that it was no uncommon thing for a man

to own a whole county, and because he did not erect schools and furnish teachers he was opposed to public schools.

How vividly one is reminded after forty years, of the excitement and the reproach and scandal that was hurled upon the South. Truly they were treated as murderers and thieves rather than as fellow citizens, who had made the glory of our fair land what it was. O, the bitterness of hatred! How little of morals it contains. How poor a dictator is an enemy. It belongs to strife and envy to criticise and rebuff. Even today the spirit of vengeance exists in the North among the younger people to a degree that would forbid my venturing to write in a compromising manner. To their dying day they will ever look with disdain upon the great South land as half barbarous and villainous. I hope none but those who wish to know the truth may ever get hold of this poor attempt at the hidden truth. But it is the duty plainly, as I conceive it, of everyone to set forth the mighty wrongs that have been heaped upon this, the best people known to our civilization, and that intolerant ignorance and untruthful teaching may gradually cease to misrepresent the South, and thus besmirch the North.

As given in the previous section the war began with the fitting out of the fleet which attempted to reinforce Fort Sumpter in South Carolina. The object of the North was to hold Fort Sumpter, take Richmond and Montgomery, and "Nip the rebellion in the bud." The North, as you remember, refused to amicably adjust the matter of forts, arsenals, etc., but claimed everything, even in the Southern territory. The South never at-

tempted to control any such property at the North. It has always been a custom, and hence a law, that when a State ceded to a government any property for the general utility of the people, it reclaimed the same when it ceased to be used for such purpose. The primary object, however, was not to get control of the forts but to induce resistance, as I have already said. Had the South been more exacting and held on to the flag which was theirs by right of superior credit and not allowed the North to use it to raise an army against them, their followers would have been more. To justify their want of action, however, let it be said that they had little time for anything after the Lincoln party had deceived them and were ready for the war, whilst the South was trying to prevent the same. There was barely time to get out the militia and enough of the citizens to prevent large losses of property, as you shall see.

See the so-called rebels helping to salute the stars and stripes at Sumpter. Only the necessity of a flag of distinction prompted them to settle upon a flag to represent State sovereignty as against United States superiority. So you see plainly the South was not so much concerned about destroying the Union, or showing her strength to fight, as she had never declared war, which alone constituted rebellion, but some of the States, including Virginia, did not secede until after the President's call for troops. This became the general incentive to fight, for the Southern people considered this proclamation a declaration of war, and another violation of the Constitution, which declared Congress to be the war-making power; and when the President

was so audacious as in the same proclamation to call upon Virginia and all the other States to raise the armies to subdue the South, there remained nothing to be done but throw in her lot with those States which were determined to fight to the death for those principles which were advocated by the State Rights people.

Virginia seceded three days after Lincoln's call for troops. The troops were at once called out to take possession of the government workshops at Harper's Ferry, Norfolk and other points. The manufacture of cannon and firearms began in earnest and the State of Virginia was in a blaze of excitement with military preparations.

The Governor ordered some volunteer companies from Staunton and Winchester to capture Harper's Ferry, as it was deemed important, being at the junction of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers, where there were military workshops and a great number of arms. The militia of the neighborhood began assembling for the same purpose. The United States officer in command, hearing of these hostilities, without awaiting orders from Washington, on the night of the 18th of April, attempted to destroy the factories, and arsenal, and military storehouse, by setting fire to them. Before the work of destruction was completed the Virginia troops arrived and secured a large quantity of machinery, cannon and small arms of great value to the government of the new union. The navy yard and shipping at Norfolk were also set on fire and abandoned, but as was the case at Harper's Ferry, the work was too hastily done to be

fully accomplished. The valuable dock, costing many millions of dollars, was saved. Fortress Monroe was garrisoned by Federal troops under General Butler.

War was now fully begun. The Confederate government removed from Montgomery, where it had been organized after the secession of Alabama, to Richmond, which was chosen as the permanent capital of the Southern Confederacy. Colonel Robert E. Lee, who had given up his position in the United States army on the secession of Virginia, was offered by the Governor, with the consent of the convention of Virginia, the command of the forces of the State. He was the son of Light Horse Harry Lee, a famous Revolutionary officer, and had himself won a high reputation in the Mexican war. The esteem in which he was held would have insured him the principal command in the armies of the United States if he had remained in the service of that government. But he determined to share the fortunes of his native State, Virginia. He was soon afterward put in command of the Confederate troops.

It was determined to bring some of the cadets from the military school at Lexington to drill the soldiers, and Major Thomas J. Jackson, then a professor in this school, afterwards renowned as "The Christian Hero" and Stonewall Jackson was ordered to bring them to Richmond. Major Jackson wrote to his wife from Richmond that he had never seen anything like the military zeal throughout the country. At every station where they stopped petitions were presented to him to let them have a cadet to drill the men in the nighborhood.

Every branch of business was deserted for the army; even boys in the schools thought the time spent in study was time thrown away when the South was to be defended. The camp of instruction was in charge of another officer, but Major Jackson during his short stay there informally aided in the drill and discipline of the new levies that were flocking in from the Southern States, using the cadets whom he had brought from the military schools as assistants.

While he was thus engaged the Governor of Virginia nominated him for Colonel of the volunteers. This appointment excited some surprise, for although he had distinguished himself in the Mexican war, that was long enough for it to be forgotten, and he was only known to the world generally as an unpretending professor at the Military Institute, who was laughed at by the boys for his eccentricities. When Governor Fletcher nominated him for the position of Colonel of Volunteers, some one asked, contemptuously, "Who is this Jackson?" The answer came promptly, from one who knew him. "He is one who if ordered to hold a post will never leave it, so long as he has life to defend it!"

An incident of how Jackson went to West Point may be of interest: On a stormy November day, in the year 1845, two anxious looking young men sat in the public sitting room of the Bailey House, at Weston, in what is now Lewis County, West Virginia.

"You'll be the one, Tom," whispered one to the other, as the waiter entered, bearing a letter in his hand. "I'm afraid

not, Gib," was the reply from a serious faced youth, who was large for his age, which was only seventeen. As the negro looked around Gib fairly trembled with eagerness, while Tom's features settled into a sort of grim composure.

"Mr. Gilbert Butcher!" called the waiter.

Gib. sprang forward. seized and tore open the envelope, then waved it emphatically, "It's mine!" he shouted, and was about to follow the assertion up with an old fashioned yell, when the sight of his companion's face checked him. "I am sorry, Tom, on your account. I thought Mr. Hays would certainly have chosen you."

But by this time Tom Jackson had recovered from his disappointment and was able to congratulate his fortunate rival. "I am glad you got it, Gib." said he, "seeing that I didn't. You are ahead of me in mathematics, and they say that counts at West Point."

He went sorrowfully out and mounted a jaded looking gray mare. He was hailed from an upper window of the hotel. "Sorry I could not appoint you both, Tom," said an elderly, well garbed Congressman, "but as I have only one West Point appointment falling to me this time, I had to let Gib. have it. He is ahead of you in his studies, you know."

"I've always had to work," continued Tom, rather sadly; "Gib. could go to school, but if I should ever have another chance, please don't forget me, Mr. Hays."

As constable Thomas J. Jackson rode away, his earnest tone and manner impressed the Congressman so deeply that he

remembered it later on, when Tom's second chance unexpectedly came, for Butcher, after a month or two at West Point, suddenly returned home. One of the first to meet him was Jackson, still riding as constable for Uncle Cummins, who was a justice of the peace. "What brings you back?" asked Jackson, who was greatly surprised, when Gib. confessed that the hazing, discipline and military severities were more than he could stand.

It appeared that Gib. had resigned. Tom hurried to his uncle, resigned his constableship, borrowed $70 from the squire, packed his saddlebags and headed the gray mare toward Washington, over three hundred miles away. In two weeks he knew the power of appointment would lapse into the hands of the Secretary of War. The mud roads were terrible. When the old mare gave out Tom sold her and managed to go on by stage coach, though various delays nearly drove him wild with fear of coming too late. He reached the capital cold, hungry, tired and late at night. Mr. Hays, though surprised, greeted him kindly. "I fear you are too late, Tom," said he. "The appointment passed to the Secretary this very day." "The day isn't over until midnight," Jackson said. "It is hardly eleven o'clock yet. I couldn't get here sooner."

Again, impressed by Tom's dogged earnestness, the Congressman took him in a hack to the Secretary's house, routed that official from his bed, and as his best excuse for such strenuous proceedings, placed Tom's weary homespun figure and simple story before him. While the Congressman and the great war official talked Tom fell asleep in his chair. The Secretary was

a reasonable man. As he gave his ready assent he pertinently added: "This is the kind of youngster West Point needs; he doesn't quit easily."

The following day the appointment was duly made and Mr. Hays intrusted him still further.

"Got any money, Tom?" he asked, with a shrewd perception of the young man's situation.

Jackson confessed that his financial resources were about exhausted by explaining that he had walked from Harper's Ferry, leaving his saddlebags to come on by stage.

"How will you reach West Point; should you fail like Butcher, how would you get back home?"

"I'll not fail, like Gib. You have always known me, Mr. Hays. I 'lowed you would loan me enough to get there—that is all I need." Jackson's faith in himself and his patron shone in every lineament of his face. The Congressman's constituents said that their member had a good deal of "horse sense." He then evinced it by sending Tom rejoicing to West Point, where he "passed" and remained, and finally was graduated with honor.

Four years later, when he returned to his old home with a lieutenant's epaulet on his shoulder, his first task was to repay his uncle and the Congressman their loan. Before the death of either, the lad who had ridden his old mare over the Alleghanies and sold her to pay stage fare, and finally walked when means gave out, passed into history from the fatal field of Chancellorsville as "Stonewall Jackson."

STONEWALL JACKSON.

"'Twas as the dying of the day,
The darkness grew so still;
The drowsy pipe of evening birds
Was hushed upon the hill.
Athwart the shadows of the vale
Slumbered the men of might,
And one lone sentry paced his rounds
To watch the camp that night.

A grave and solemn man was he,
With deep and sombre brow;
The dreamful eyes seemed hoarding up
Some unaccomplished vow.
The wistful glance peered o'er the plain
Beneath the starry night,
And with the murmured name of God,
He watched the camp that night.

We mourn for him who died for us,
With one resistless moan,
While up the valley of the Lord
He marches to the throne!
He kept the faith of men and saints
Sublime, and pure, and bright;
He sleeps, and all is well with him
Who watched the camp that night.

Brothers! the midnight of our cause
Is shrouded in our fate;
The demon Goths pollute our halls
With fire, and lust, and hate.
Be strong, be valiant, be assured—
Strike home for Heaven and right;
The soul of Jackson stalks around,
And guards the camp to-night.'

Maryland was quite as earnest as Virginia for the Southern cause, but, because of her position, it was harder for her to join the South, and the North determined that she should not do so; and they did succeed in preventing her secession, but her brave soldiers fought shoulder to shoulder with Virginia's. Scarce a town of Maryland along the border, but furnished some one who made himself famous for his bravery. Douglas, of Sharpsburg; Stonebraker, of Funkstown; Breathed, of Breathedsville; Dorsey and Baughman, of Frederick and so on. At Williamsport Clinton Rench was mobbed and murdered because he had the courage of his convictions, and cheered for some Southern leader amid those who cheered for their favorite side.

When the Northern troops passed through Baltimore to go South they were met by a mob of citizens who declared this should not be. Blood was shed on both sides, and the Governor, who acted in the interest of the North, notified the United States Government that the people could not be controlled if troops were brought through the city, so they were taken through Annapolis. Marylanders were assured that the troops were only to be used to defend the capitol at Washington.

Maryland suffered greatly at this time; her prominent citizens were arrested and imprisoned, and troops were raised on her soil, but she was true at heart all through the struggle and spared nothing of men, money, and stores, to help the cause she loved. That the next Legislature should become Re-

publican soldiers were used at the polls and colored ballots to insure success—such must go with Lincoln's name.

The army of the South was made up principally of young men who had been reared in luxurious homes and knew nothing of the hardships which lay before in their paths. Full of military ardor, and lacking the wisdom which comes only with experience, they expected to conquer their foes in the first battle and live heroes ever after.

But it was not long before they learned that war is not all enjoyment. Sickness attacked them; the measles and dysentery were enemies which overcame hundreds, and laid them low before they ever heard the sound of cannon. Oh, how hard it was to see in the hospitals young boys, hardly more than children, with all their longing for military glory, dying on their pallets before they had been able to strike a blow for the cause in which they had enlisted.

On the 24th of May the first Zouaves marched across the bridge at Washington, and proceeding to Alexandria, took possession of the place in the name of the United States. This was the first invasion of the State by the enemy. Upon this occasion it fell to the fate of a citizen to shed the first blood in defence of his home. As the troops entered the city they saw floating from the top of the Marshall House, a small hotel, a Confederate flag. Colonel Ellsworth, the officer in command, at once entered the house and proceeded to take down the flag, and started to go down stairs. At the first landing he encountered Mr. Jackson, the owner of the house. He was half

dressed, having come out in great haste upon hearing of the invasion of his premises—"This is my trophy," said Colonel Ellsworth to him, holding up the flag. "And this is mine!" answered Jackson, firing a pistol ball into his breast. He fell dead instantly, and in another second Jackson fell across his body pierced by the bayonets and bullets of Ellsworth's followers. Jackson's wife ran and lifted his head when a soldier slapped her in the face.

The great object intended to be accomplished by the invasion of Virginia was the capture of Richmond, which, as the capital of the State and the Confederacy, would strike a blow at the whole cause, and place the State again under Federal rule. Four armies were to invade Virginia; the first by way of Fortress Monroe, the second by way of Manassas, the third to enter the State at Williamsport, Md., and the fourth to come from the northwest towards the same point.

As a child, the writer remembers yet the brand new army at Williamsport, which lay encamped for a short while drilling on the long meadows beside the old Potomac. It seems but a few years since his father called at the door of a country school, but four miles from Williamsport, and loaded up four or five of us, sisters and brothers, to go to see the army.

The Confederate army was very much smaller than that of the United States for this reason; the South had been divided up into large plantations, and had few large cities. The population was therefore much smaller, and besides, the North could draw from the whole world. The North also had the

treasury of the United States, and the South was poor. Thus it required a great deal of management so to use these small armies as to meet the great forces of opposition against them. They were wisely placed in positions where they could be quickly thrown together if any one point was attacked.

Beauregard kept his attention fixed upon Manassas and Alexandria, Johnston watched an army of eighteen thousand men in Shenandoah Valley. McClellan's army of twenty thousand was advancing from the Northwest, and the Confederates had not more than one-fourth the number to oppose it. Couriers were kept going between the armies all the time.

There was one of Virginia's officers who demands especial mention among the Confederate men. General J. E. B. Stuart, familiarly known as "Jeb Stuart," who by his indefatigable energy and youthful ardor, infused into his service a dashing boldness which made him like a guardian spirit to the army. He was educated at West Point and had fought the Indians on the prairies, so that all of his experience served to fit him for his present task. He seemed to be everywhere at once. He would come into camp in a gallop, report his knowledge of the armies and affairs to the commanding officer, and away, without rest, to join his trusted comrades in dogging the steps of the enemy; running incredible risks, and laughing over his hair breadth escapes. He was called the "Yellow Jacket," which was no sooner brushed off than he was there again.

Harper's Ferry was a most important post to the Federal Government, as it commanded the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad,

crossing the Potomac at this point, and was the shortest route to and from Washington. The Confederate Government was very anxious to hold this place in consequence, but the Secretary of War had such confidence in General Johnson that he told him he should do as he thought best. So when General Stuart brought in the news that Patterson was advancing towards Martinsburg and McClellan had reached Romney, he thought it best to move further up the valley so as to keep these two armies from joining and crushing him, and then going down to Manassas to join the Army of the Potomac. So he made his preparations to move by burning the railroad bridge at Harper's Ferry, so the United States government would have no way of transporting troops and provisions. Then he withdrew to Bunker Hill, about twelve miles from Winchester. There he offered battle to General Patterson, but Patterson did not fight, and retired. Johnson then fell back to Winchester and waited for news from Stuart. Stuart reported that Patterson was again on the move toward Martinsburg, and Jackson, on the 20th of June, was sent to Martinsburg.

The enthusiasm at Winchester among the soldiers knew no bounds at the prospect of a fight. They had been in camp so long that they were impatient for activity, and they knew they would have it if they followed Jackson. Jackson stopped at Martinsburg long enough to destroy the rolling stock and joined Stuart in front of Patterson's army at Williamsport. With Stuart to watch and Jackson to use his information there was no chance of an opportunity being lost. Jackson had orders not

to fight but to feel the enemy, but the feeling amounted to a sharp skirmish, just enough to make the boys hungry for a fight.

The maneuvering between Johnson and Patterson continued for two weeks, then at Winchester. Each knew that the great battle was to be fought at Manassas, and Patterson's object was to prevent Johnson from reinforcing Beauregard by keeping near enough to him to make believe all the time that he would meet him in battle. Again and again Patterson refused to fight.

The officers were not surprised when on the 19th of July a dispatch came saying that McDowell, in command of the Army of the Potomac, was marching to attack Beauregard. On the 18th, there had been a slight engagement at Bull Run with the advance of the army, and Johnson was asked to join Beauregard as soon as possible. General Jackson had just received his commission as Brigadier General. Johnson was ordered to leave Stuart bring up his rear and strike for Ashby's Gap, and was at Manassas, fifty miles away, before Patterson knew of his move.

The great battle of Manassas was the first general engagement of the war. The Federal army was fifty-two thousand strong, while the Confederates had thirty-two thousand all told. The commissary department of the Federal army was perfect. They had every preparation made for their comfort possible for an army in the field. The Northern newspapers had been preparing the people for this move for weeks. It was expected the Confederate would be crushed at this first blow. A large number of citizens, including ladies, came from Washington to see the

fun, so confident were they of success, prepared to welcome the victors with feasting and rejoicing. The Confederates, on the other hand, were poorly equipped and poorly clad. The arms were all of very old fashioned pattern. Many of the men were only furnished with shotguns used for hunting game in the woods. The long lines of nicely covered wagons and fine horses and artillery contrasted sharply with the coverless wagons and poor horses of the Confederates. Though the odds were with the Confederates in other respects, they were on their own soil, and were defending their homes. These incentives more than balanced the superior numbers and equipment of the foe. The handcuffs sent out from Washington to shackle those of the Rebels the Yankees did not kill, were never used.

I shall not attempt a description of the battle, but shall aim to give the facts not generally recorded. The Confederate line was eight miles long, extending along the bank of Bull Run. The Federal line was about three miles away on a road from Centerville to Alexandria. At a stone bridge on the run was the heavy fighting, which lasted for hours, with varying success. At one time the shattered ranks of the Confederates were sorely pressed by the overwhelming numbers, but at this critical moment General Jackson reached the scene with his brigade of two thousand men. These he quickly disposed upon the crest of a ridge and posted seventeen pieces of artillery along the line. On the right of Jackson was General Bee with the remains of his forces, in all about six thousand five hundred men, against which number a column of twenty thousand Federals, mostly fresh re-

serves, surged from eleven o'clock until three, when again it seemed the day would be lost to the Confederates. General Bee rode up to Jackson and said in despairing tones, "General, they are beating us back." Then, replied Jackson, "we will give them the bayonet." This inspired Bee with fresh resolution, and hurrying back to his dispirited men, he exclaimed, "There is Jackson, standing like a stone wall; rally behind the Virginians." This gave to Jackson's brigade the name of Stonewall brigade. A bayonet charge was made, before which the enemy fled. The gallant Bee fell, pierced by a ball.

But fresh regiments continued to pour in, and the Federalists continued their line still further to the right. It was now four o'clock and the Federalists, who had been repulsed but not routed, were preparing for another determined effort.

Again, at this critical moment, the reserves from the Confederate right, nine miles away, arrived under Generals Early and Holmes and arrested the flank movement of the Federals, while at the same time General Kirby Smith reached the field with the remainder of the army from the valley, who had arrived at Manassas Junction on the cars while the battle was raging and following the sound of the cannon and musketry assaulted the right wing of the Federal army. Consternation seized the ranks of the enemy from this unexpected attack and giving way they fled in confusion from the field, and they did not stop until they were across the long bridge and within the defences of Washington.

General Bartow was killed while rallying his brave Georgians.

While his life was ebbing out he exclaimed, "Yes, they have killed me, but never give up the field." General Kirby Smith was dangerously wounded.

This ended one of the most remarkable battles of the world's history. The Confederates captured twenty-eight cannon and five thousand muskets. General Jackson, seeing the demoralization and panic stricken rout of the enemy, remarked that he believed with ten thousand fresh troops he could go into Washington.

Here again the Confederate Government would not allow aggressive warfare, and Jackson was ordered to dismiss such intentions from his mind. Jackson was much aggrieved at this veto of his suggestion. Had Jackson destroyed the navy, the treasury, etc., their cause had been assured. This was not to be in the course of events and eventually turned out as best for all, as I shall attempt to show in the next section of this little book under the head of "The Result of the War."

Please note Davis refused to do what Lincoln did at first opportunity, viz., destroy and pillage as a war measure.

After the battle of Manassas General Jackson was again promoted and ordered to a new command in the valley of the Shenandoah. This command was made up from the army which had been doing a great deal of hard fighting in West Virginia; but it had accomplished very little on account of the nature of the country, and it was determined to make the army more compact by bringing the different parts of it nearer together. In taking command of this division Jackson was sep-

arated from the Stonewall brigade, which was ordered to remain under the command of General Johnson. This was a great trial to him and to the brigade, as he had led them from the beginning of the war, and the warmest affection existed between them. But orders must be obeyed, and it only remained for him to take leave of them, which he did in words too full of interest to be omitted. After speaking to them with the tender pride of a father of the record that they had made, and assuring them of the interest with which he would watch their future, his calm self control gave place to the most profound emotion; his lips quivered, and throwing the bridle on the neck of his horse he rose in his stirrups, and extending his arms toward them said, "In the army of the Shenandoah you were the first brigade! In the army of the Potomac you were the first brigade! In the second corps of the army you are the first brigade! You are the first brigade in the affections of your General, and I hope by your future deeds and bearing you will be handed down to posterity as the first brigade in this our second war for independence. Farewell!"

May we not say that this invocation has been fulfilled? But the separation between Jackson and the first brigade lasted only a few weeks, for, much to the delight of all parties, they were ordered to join his command in November.

What a wonderful man he was—this Jackson. I remember of hearing a lecture upon the subject of "Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley," by Major Hotchkiss, member of his staff, if I mistake not. After hearing this fine description of such a cam-

paign in the mountain and intricate valley of Shenandoah, I wished to see a map of his travels and engagements, but like the history of this terrible conflict, sacrifice, and suffering, after so long a time since its happening, it has not appeared.

For a moment let us look at the State of Maryland, before we get too far on with the progress of the war. One would think in all decency of justice, a State which had not seceded, the thing so much ignored by the North, would be treated civilly. But what do we find—all this was no protection against the despotism agreed upon in the Republican councils at Washington. The Mayor and police of Baltimore were seized and plunged into prison, where they were treated with a barbarity truly revolting. They were not allowed the privileges which always in civilized countries are permitted to convicted murderers. The Constitution, laws and courts of the State were all stricken down by a single blow. The State Legislature was dispersed at the point of the bayonet and its members smuggled away to distant dungeons. Judge Alvey, lately retired Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals, was a member of the body then. Private houses were searched by officials from Washington. Private letters, of ladies and gentlemen, were seized and sent to Seward and Lincoln to read upon their throne of usurped authority.

Suspicions of sympathies were sufficient for sending men to prison. An uncle's barn was burned near Bakersville, with its contents, by the so-called loyalists, because another man built a skiff in it, to cross the river, who was a Southern sympathizer. Near the same place a loaded grain boat was cut loose from its

moorings and sent down over the dam and destroyed, because those interested in it were Southern sympathizers, though they never in any way interfered or took part in the trouble. Any debased wretch could procure the arrest of a gentleman or lady against whom he had a spite, or whose property he wished to plunder. It seemed almost any officer had authority to arrest or search at any time; or at least you heard of but few reprimands for so terrible a misdemeanor. The writer remembers his father refusing to yield to a supposed officer who pressed a lot of hay, ordering also a team to help haul it, when after some time of delay, another officer came up and gave my father credit for not submitting to the demand, whereupon the first officer was sent off with his head hanging. Three or four different times was my father dragged off under arrest by false reports of horse thieves and plunderers of every description. Several times did raids of cavalry try to scare us from home by announcing that there would be a severe battle shortly, and that we would be in great danger. But we managed to hold on, and hold out at the old homestead, though we were but a few miles away from Antietam battlefield, and within one-half mile of a line of fortifications, behind which the lines had drawn up for battle. At one time it was part of the writer's duty, though but eleven years of age, to watch for the battle to begin, when we intended to go into the cellar, which was arranged for our living room in case of emergency. One of the most trying experiences for a boy, as I remember, was to run after the horses and cows, as the cavalry would pass through and throw down the fences.

He remembers almost getting between the lines at the skirmish of Falling Waters, when Lee's army crossed the Potomac, after the battle of Gettysburg. The horses we had left seemed possessed to follow the troops, and we could only check them by running them into a barn yard as the cavalry passed.

One of the most striking reminiscences of the war has been vividly recalled since the issuing of the first edition of this little book, when the writer incidentally met the subject of the same, in the person of Archibald Oden, who now lives near Martinsburg, W. Va. How very short a time it seems since one morning at a country school house all was excitement as the pupils were running to and fro and chatting in an undertone, a very unusual occurrence, of the absence of the teacher. Many of them had rightly guessed that he had joined the confederate army. Oden was such a midget of a man that one would have thought a few months of service would end his life; but a lean dog for a long chase was verified in his case, as he fought all through the war, with the exception of the short time he taught school. He was captured in one of the early battles of the war, and jumped from the train at Ellicott City, making his way to his cousin, John Breathed, at Breathedsville. Breathed being a staunch Southerner, arranged to get him back into the Southern lines by getting him a school to teach for a while, and finally by a pass-word to cross the river. But unfortunately for Oden he was contracting a fever, which fact urged him the more to get back to friends and home, and as he reached the banks of the Potomac he sank beneath a tree, in the chill of the night, where he lay for three

days with a raging fever. When he had sufficiently recovered to move on he forgot his pass-word, and had quite a time explaining to the ferry-man the circumstances. To show how cautious such movements had to be will give as near as possible his own description of the proceedings. Said he, "The ferry-man concealed me in the bushes and walked up the river some distance, kicking from its lodging place a log with a hole in either end, and floated it down opposite me. Then he went still further up and kicked out another log and floated it down to the same place. He then went into the bushes and brought out two short boards with a pin in either end, and by them fastened the logs together, after which he went in another direction and brought a board the same length as the logs and placed it on the short boards, and the craft was ready. Now, said the ferry-man, get on, and do it quickly. When the raft struck the other shore the ferry-man said good-bye, and God bless you."

Let us look at the temper of the Yankees before we go further and see whether they resembled men trying to save the Union, restore peace, or represent any quality. When the Northern army was compelled to leave Harper's Ferry they set fire to everything of worth to the South before doing so, but, as I have said, the companies of the neighborhood succeeded in saving much of the munitions. The next day Lincoln's soldiers were ordered to use the torch at Norfolk navy yard, when again, with great difficulty, the city itself was saved. They had fired all the ships in the harbor. And now the awful fact stared the South in the face that the only means of protection it had was its own

defense. Congress and the republican papers said they were going to leave "the ruts of their war chariots so deep in the soil of the South that eternity would not wear them out."

Remember, now, this is the party in power which had tried to establish a Monarchical Government after the Revolution, and the same party that tried to overthrow the government which our fathers did establish, for four years under Adams' administration. No wonder the malice so long pent up and so often crushed in its purpose, burst with such violence at last upon those who had heretofore so signally defeated the same. The periodicals at Washington were loud and distinct in saying that "those who shape the legislation of this country after the war must remember that what we want is power and strength. The problem will be to combine the forms of a Republican government with those of a Monarchial government."

The North American, of Philadelphia, also said, "This war has already shown the absurdity of a government of limited powers." So I would have you mark well, now, if you wish to see fairly, that under the cunning cry of the Union these traitors were trying to overthrow our free government and destroy the Union instead of save it. The South wanted union too, but the old union, and not a new one as was afterward made by amendment usurping to give franchise.

Do you not see plainly that the North was treasonous, as only the general government could be, as I have said. How could the State rebel against a thing they had made, and which was not even a party to any agreement, but simply an agent. A

State can be guilty of a breach of compact, but not a rebellion. Even this would be no question to be settled at the bayonet's point. It is only a matter of right and wrong. But the Republicans contended that the end justified any means. Later we shall look carefully into the matter and try to see whether the end was justified and how much was gained by the North that they undertook.

But to go back to the immediate progress of the war. After the poor success with which the Northern armies had met to this time it became evident that more excitement must be gotten up. The denunciations of General Scott and McDowell were really humiliating, as the North tried to put the blame upon these men, instead of the determination of the South. They finally saw that these tactics would have to be changed to get the masses into the war, so Congress passed the following resolution:

Resolved, "That this war is not waged on our part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest, or for interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

Upon this solemn promise an army of 500,000 was called for and $500,000,000 authorized by Congress to carry on the war. This pledge was shamefully broken, and was only in

keeping with the trick of the leaders in inaugurating the war itself.

To show still further how Lincoln deceived the people will quote from a letter written by Cameron, Secretary of War, in August, 1861, to General Butler, at Fortress Monroe, wherein he says: "It is the desire of the President that all existing rights in all the States be fully respected and maintained. The war now prosecuted on the part of the Federal Government is a war for the Union, for the preservation of all the Constitutional rights of the States and the citizens of the States in the Union."

All know this to have been false, yet it served the purpose for which it was intended. After the object of the war was changed and thousands of men saw they were deceived, none were allowed to oppose or argue, under penalty of being shot down for mutiny, so had to fight to free the negroes.

While the events just described were going on in Virginia the campaign in the West was moving on vigorously, though in a smaller way. At St. Louis, Missouri, many citizens were shot down in the streets. The State had taken no steps towards secession, but as the State and the property and the lives of its citizens were already the prey of soldiers in Federal uniform, it is certainly true that the Federal administration began the work of subjugating the State in earnest before any signs of secession were apparent in the people or authorities of the State.

Governor Jackson called out the Missouri militia, who were encamped under the laws of the State at a place called Camp Jackson, near the city of St. Louis. These State troops were com

pelled to surrender to a superior force of abolition soldiers under Captain Lyon, who was afterwards made a General by Lincoln. Immediately after this Governor Jackson called out 50,000 volunteers for State defense.

The first important battle was fought at Carthage. After one of the most spirited engagements of the war the Yankees were badly whipped by a vastly inferior force. The Missouri army was a sorry sight in all but desperate fighting pluck. An officer gave the following humorous picture of its condition: "We had not a blanket or a tent, or any clothes, excepting the few on our back, and four-fifths of us were barefooted. Billy Barlow's dress at a circus would be decent compared with that of almost any one, from the Major down to the humblest private. But we had this preparation for battle, every one knew that he was fighting in a cause, the most sacred that ever aroused the heroism of man."

General Freemont was now appointed by Lincoln to the command of the department of the West. He went into Missouri with the most ridiculous display of pomp and parade. He proclaimed "the abolition of slavery," and the confiscation of the property of all Missourians who adhered to the government of their State.

After the people had thus been plundered and ravaged for months and literally fought out of the Federal Union, the legislature passed an act of secession and sent delegates to the Provisional Congress of the Southern Confederacy. Not until the State found its laws overthrown by an army under the pay

of Lincoln's administration did it ultimately revolt. The presence of the army in Missouri was as great a crime as it would be in Massachusetts or Maine at the present time. These people were fighting for the preservation of their own State. Who are the people so low and unpatriotic as to lie still under such provocation. Such ruffians as Jim Lane, Jennison and others were sent there for their vile work, who were the former associates of John Brown. The banks of the State were robbed of their specie, and houses looted by freebooters, and all silverware, jewelry, ladies' wardrobes and such valuables appropriated. Cattle were driven off or killed. God forbid I should exaggerate, and were I willing to do so things were so bad that they could not be painted worse with all the coloring in the world. In description, one has said: "My whole journey to this place has presented harrowing sights—widows, wives, children and the aged, standing homeless by the wayside, their homes in flames and ruins. Whose destroyers are the valiant German and Dutch heroes of Siegel, runaways from both fields, who show their paltry spite to helpless little ones, whose fathers and brothers are fighting for freedom of thought, word and action. A German republic or empire is their dream, and already this General Freemont is assuming all the trumpery and airs of foreign courts. He travels in state and has a German body-guard." It probably will never be known how far this scheme under Freemont had progressed at the time of his removal from command. So resolute was he that he refused to yield to Lincoln's order, and his men re-

fused to fight for some time. Let it be said here, before leaving the war in the West, that not until many battles were fought and an army of 70,000 men were sent, did Missouri fail to outstrip them.

All this time at Washington the Yankees had been put to their wits' end to get some one to take the place of the commanding officer who was so put to the worse at Manassas. General McClellan was now taken up as the best man they had, and who had gained a victory at Rich Mountain, W. Va. After the withdrawing of McClellan from this section the Federal army was badly beaten by Floyd and Wise. But here again their little armies gradually became too small comparatively, and General Lee, who had just received command in place of Garnett, was a bug-bear to Rosecrans, who retreated without a fight clear out of reach of Lee's army for the fall.

While events like these were going on in West Virginia, McClellan was drilling the Army of the Potomac, and General Johnson and Beauregard were keeping watch over him from Manassas and its vicinity. McClellan would not fight until he had been convinced that there was some hope of victory.

There were no more battles that fall in this section excepting the one at Leesburg, which was an important key to the Shenandoah Valley, at which place was a force of four regiments of Confederates under General Evans. General Stone received orders from Washington to cross the Potomac at Harrison's Island, into Virginia. At the same time Colonel Baker, a member of Congress from Oregon, was despatched

to take command under Stone. Baker was put in command of all the forces on the Virginia side of the Potomac, and ordered by General Stone to dislodge the Confederates from Leesburg. Colonel Baker's force was four or five times as large as the little Confederate brigade at that place, and the people at Washington waited in confidence to hear that it was entirely gobbled up by Colonel Baker. But, alas, it turned out to be another Bull Run affair, on a smaller scale. The Confederates fought against such vast odds with a courage that amounted to desperation. The whole number in the engagement was only 1,800, but they fired and yelled, with such rapidity, that amid the deafening noise the invaders thought their number was ten times as great. Colonel Baker's whole army at last gave way, and began a stampede down the hill to the river's bank. They pitched, tumbled and rolled down the steep bank, throwing away their guns and knap-sacks, plunged into the river. A large, flat boat, loaded with wounded and dying was swamped and sank to the bottom with its load of humanity. The loss of the Federals was 1,300, 710 taken prisoners, among whom were twenty-two commissioned officers, also 1,500 stands of arms and three cannon.

So great was the chagrin and mortification at Washington that it had to be appeased by some victim, and General Stone was arrested and sent to prison without trial or charge. After many months, when he was left out, he was never informed of the cause of his arrest.

For a short while let us see what is going on in the State

of Kentucky. This State determined to remain neutral in the bloody conflict, while it justly condemned abolition and all its inhuman plans, but would not withdraw nor take any part with secession. This neutrality the Lincoln party professed to be satisfied with, and promised to respect it, but truth compels me to tell you that they broke the bargain the first instant they had power to do so.

Some of the party connived with the authorities at Washington to arrest some of the most respectable men of the State, whose influences they feared, and whose integrity they could not corrupt and utilize. Ex-Governor Morehead was seized by the party and dragged out of his own house at midnight, in the presence of his frightened family, and spirited away out of the State, in direct violation of the State laws. For many months he was kept locked up in Fort Lafayette, denied a trial, not even allowed to know why he was imprisoned. This produced an uproar of indignation in the State. Lincoln's object probably was to get out of the way all who would not take sides with the North, and thus, in time, secure the State for their assistance.

All idea of neutrality in the State was now at an end. The wildest anarchy and violence existed. Wherever the Lincoln force prevailed there was no security for the property or life of a man who was know to be opposed to the war. Governor Magoffin, who was desirous of preserving the neutrality of the State, demanded that the Confederate troops under General Polk at Columbus, should be withdrawn. General Polk

replied that he would promptly comply with his request, provided the Abolition army should be withdrawn at the same time, and that guarantees should be given that it would make no more attempts to occupy Kentucky. This proposition was agreeable to the Governor but was hooted at by the Lincoln party. The truth was that the administration wanted Kentucky as a base of supplies and operations against the South. On the 14th of Sepetember, 1861, the Confederate General Zollicoffer wrote to Governor Magoffin as follows: "The safety of Tennessee requiring, I occupy the mountain passes at Cumberland, and the three mountains in Kentucky. For weeks I have known that the Federal commander at Hoskin's Cross Roads was threatening the invasion of East Tennessee, and ruthlessly urging our people to destroy our railroad and bridges. I postponed this precautionary movement until the despotic government at Washington, refusing to recognize the neutrality of Kentucky, had established formidable camps in the center and other parts of the State, with a view to first subjugate our gallant State, and then ourselves. If the Federals will now withdraw from their menacing position, the force under my command shall be immediately withdrawn."

Under the influence of Governor Brownlow there were Lincoln clubs formed in east Tennessee of a number of unprincipled and desperate men who formed a conspiracy to burn all the bridges in their part of the State on the railroads; this being a part of the general plan adopted at Washington of making invasions of the South through Kentucky and Tennessee.

General Polk still held his headquarters at Columbus, where an army, commanded by General Grant, nearly three times as large as Polk's, marched to attack him from Cairo. Grant's army embraced a land force, gunboats and transports to act in conjunction with it. 'Twas said that Grant had men enough to surround the Rebel army. It has been asserted that Grant never risked a battle except when he led three or four times as many men as the enemy. The battle between him and the Polk forces took place at Belmont, near Columbus, on the 7th of November. For four or five hours the conflict raged with deadly fury. At length the Confederate officers, Beltzhoover, Bell and Wright, of Pillow's division, sent word to their commander that their ammunition was all used. General Pillow then instantly ordered the use of the bayonet. Accordingly a charge was made by the whole line and Grant's army was forced back to the woods, where he ordered up reserves, which in time forced the Confederates back to their old position. Twice again were Grant's soldiers, forced back at the point of the bayonet, and each time the Confederates were obliged to yield to the reserve forces brought against them. At last Pillow ordered his whole line to fall back, and Grant seemed to have gained the victory just as reinforcements arrived under Colonel Walker. General Pillow again rallied his men and the whole conflict was opened again(if possible, with more violence than ever, and the Confederates gained a complete victory. Grant's whole army fled before the yells and fire of Polk's men. There fell into the hands of the Confederates a great number of blankets,

overcoats, wagons, horses and ammunition. In Grant's report of this battle he fails to give the complete defeat he received, but only mentions the early part of the battle.

How little is known about the character and disposition of General Grant as a man. More than once he was taken home drunk while President of the United States. As an evidence of his coarseness, will cite an incident given by a witness, which can be confirmed also by some of Grant's friends, as he wrote home at the time giving an account of it. As he was entering Lynchburg upon a certain occasion, he met a boy of about 13 years, whom he asked where he was going. Of course children and women and all were suspected as spies at that time. The little boy said that he was going to his uncle's. Then he asked whether there were any rebels around there, to which the boy replied that there were not then, but that there were plenty of them the day before. The boy in turn then asked Grant where he was going. Grant told him that was an impertinent question as he was General Grant, and further remarked that he might be going to Richmond, or he might be going to Petersburg, or he might be going up above, or he might be going down below; assuring the boy that he was not going to tell him where he was going. The boy looked up at him and said: "Now you are not going to Richmond, for old Longstreet's there; and you are not going to Petersburg, for old Ewell's there; nor are you going up above, for old Jackson's there; so your destination must be below, as that's the only place there are no rebels."

A few days after this there was called a convention and a resolution passed to form a provisional government and join the Confederacy. But it was too late. The State was hopelessly in the net of the abolition traitors. Many of those who assisted the very army that was conquering their State and preparing for the overthrow of their property, and deluded by the idea that they were fighting for the Union, have lived to see their error. They now confess that the war was to overthrow the Union of Sovereign States as formed by our fathers. It has been abundantly proven since the war that the war was neither for Union nor for Liberty, but centralization of power.

It is not generally known that in November of this same year President Davis sent as ambassadors to represent them in England and France the Hon. James Mason, of Virginia, and Hon. John Slidel, of Louisiana. Both had been Senators. They ran the blockade at a southern port on the Nashville and arrived safely at Havana. Here they took passage on the Trent for Europe, but when two days out the United States steam frigate, Captain Wilkes, fired a shot across her bow, and having learned that Mason and Slidell were on board, demanded that they be given up. The captain of the Trent protested that Captain Wilkes had no right to invade the flag of another power at sea any more than on land, but this did not satisfy Wilkes. He seized Mason and Slidell and took them to Fort Warren, Boston harbor. When the Abolitionists heard this they went wild with joy, and at Washington a vote of thanks was taken, dinners held and testimonials showered upon Wilkes, as though

he had saved the country. People told these maniacs that this was wrong, and that they would be forced to give up these men. They hooted at the idea, but in due time John Bull was heard from. The word came, "deliver those men up or fight." Of course, the Federal authorities at once backed down. Their excuse was that they had no time to fight England then. "One war at a time," said Lincoln. You see why they preferred a war with their own brothers to any other that could be gotten up.

You will notice that up to the close of '61 and the beginning of '62 everything was favorable to the Confederates, but some events, which I have not named, gave great advantage to the Yankees as a basis of operations. A naval expedition under Stringham captured the Confederates at Hatteras Inlet, on the coast of North Carolina, including fifteen guns and six hundred and twenty-five prisoners. On the 7th of November Port Royal, on the same coast, was captured by Captain Dupont. These were a great loss to the South, as they gave the North excellent depots for military operations. A regiment of thieves were sent from New York, headed by Billy Wilson, to Florida, in the harbor of Pensacola, Santa Rosa Island.

The Confederates here were few in number, but one night they surprised Billy and his men and sent them flying, with Billy at their head. The Confederates finally had to fall back and left several of their wounded upon the field, who fell into the hands of these thieves and were murdered outright. When their bodies were recovered they were all found to be shot

through the head in a similar manner, besides several in different parts of the body. Neither were the Confederates permitted to enjoy the fruits of their victories long. General Zollicoffer was short of provisions, so much so that his men had to live upon a ration of beef and half a ration of parched corn, as they had no meal and no means of making any. In this condition these men fought a desperate battle at Mill Spring, and were at first successful, but an accident turned a victory into an appalling defeat. Zollicoffer's brigade had pushed forward to the top of a hill, just over the brow of which it came upon an Indiana regiment under General Fry. Zollicoffer mistook this regiment for a portion of his own, Colonel Fry's uniform being covered with a rubber overcoat, and rode to within a few feet of him before either party discovered the mistake. In a minute Fry raised his pistol and shot Zollicoffer dead.

The half-starved Confederates after this seemed to abandon hope in that section for a while. Just after these unfavorable events Grant ascended the Tennessee river with a fleet of gunboats and a powerful force to act in conjunction with the victors. Fort Henry was taken without much resistance, and then he threw his strength upon Fort Donelson. Here Grant told his men he would enter the fort before noon, but after two days' terrible fighting, he was forced to fall back out of range of the Confederate guns, completely repulsed.

But reinforcements were pouring in upon him all the time by the thousands, while the whole Confederate force at the beginning was but thirteen thousand, which was, of course,

greatly reduced by the conflict. At the third fighting Grant had eighty thousand men and further resistance became useless. During the following night it was resolved to surrender the fort. But Generals Pillow and Floyd declared they would not become prisoners and turned over their command to Buckner, who sent up a flag of truce. Forrest's cavalry, Floyd and many of his command, and Pillow, with some of his men, escaped through the enemy's lines and made their way toward Nashville. This surrender, of course, made necessary the surrender of Nashville, Tennessee, also, as the passage of Grant's gunboats up the river was uninterrupted.

Nashville was evacuated in confusion. All her State books and records were taken to Memphis. Governor Harris rode through the streets shouting to the inhabitants that the Federals were coming. The soldiers seemed to vie with each other in destroying the beauty of the city.

This was the nucleus of many of the exploits of the noted General Morgan. His daring acts were very amusing despite the seriousness of the occasions. With about forty of his men he entered the town of Gallatin, about twenty-six miles from Nashville, while it was in possession of the Federals, and marched directly to the telegraph office and asked the operator what the news was.

The operator replied that "It was said the rebel scoundred, John Morgan, was in the neighborhood," at the same time flourishing a pistol, saying, "I wish I could see him, the rascal."

Morgan replied, "Well, sir, I am General Morgan and you are my prisoner."

The valiant operator instantly wilted and begged that his life might be spared.

He amused himself in thus surprising prominent officials at different places of his possession of the offices, until the train arrived from Bowling Green, when he captured the train, taking five abolition officers prisoners.

At another time he saw several Yankees ransacking a citizen's house, when he ordered them to give up their guns and march in front of him, which order they promptly obeyed. When they came to a turn in the road a soldier remarked, "General, that is the wrong road to camp," when Morgan replied, "I am General Morgan, and you are my prisoners." Of course, he had on his suit of Yankee uniform.

The State Legislature of Tennessee was moved from Nashville to Memphis. At Madrid Bend, just above Memphis, some defences of the city were held by the Confederates. Beauregard had constructed them and they were of superior strength. With five ironclad gunboats and four mortar boats for fifteen days the Federals kept up the bombardment of these defences without any visible effect. There were fired three thousand shells and over one hundred thousand rounds of powder, and only one Confederate killed. Just as Beauregard had proven himself more than a match for the Federals, with all their boats, he was called away to check a formidable movement by an army of eighty thousand more under Grant, and forty thousand under

Buell, to cut off communication with Richmond. General Call was appointed to succeed him, and was the cause of speedy reduction. The Federals had cut a canal twelve miles long across the peninsula, which enabled the Federal gunboats to get past the Confederate works at that point. The attention of General Call was kept by an attack upon the opposite side, he being totally incompetent for the great trust. There was nothing to do now but desert the defense as speedily as possible. A lack of skill on the part of Call in spiking his guns left them in a short time to do service for the Federals. The defeat cost the Confederates seventy cannon and a quantity of powder and shell, with two hundred prisoners taken.

At this time the armies of Johnson and Grant were gathering for the great battle of Corinth, in Mississippi. The battle began at daylight, and was one of the severest battles of the war. At 2 o'clock on April 6th Johnson was mortally wounded while personally leading an assault at the head of his column. But the battle was already won, the dying hero breathing his last amid the wild shouts of his victorious men. Grant's forces were driven to Pittsburg Landing, where he was sheltered by his gunboats. All of Grant's encampments, with an immense amount of spoils, were in the hands of the Confederates. They had three thousand prisoners, with one commander, Prentiss, and several brigade commanders, and many thousand stand of arms and munitions of war. The Confederates declared that if they had fought Eastern instead of Western troops the work would have been done in one-half

the time. General Prentiss said to the Confederates, "You have defeated our best troops to-day." During the night, however, as Grant's whole army was in imminent peril with the Confederates sleeping on their arms, more recruits arrived to Grant's assistance than was in the Confederate army. Generals Buell, Nelson, Crittendon, Thomas and McCook arrived, and just in time to save Grant's army.

On Monday at 6 o'clock the battle was renewed and for four or five hours the fury was intense, and even the fresh troops were repulsed and driven back by sheer valor and desperation, and only exhaustion of man and beast against the fearful odds made it evident that eventually retreat was inevitable. There was no hurry or confusion, but slowly and in order, the Confederates fell back two miles and reformed lines and waited for several hours. The enemy did not stir. Finally Pope was entrusted with the duty of following them up. General Pope telegraphed to Washington, "As yet I have seen nothing but the backs of the Confederates." The truth was that he did not venture near enough to see even their "backs." The Confederates had all the room and time they wanted.

For fear of making my narrative too long I shall next tell you something of "Old Ben Butler."

The defenses of the city of New Orleans were thought to be impregnable, and gave the Confederates the greatest assurance that the city had nothing to fear from the Federals, as a monstrous fleet had threatened the works at Forts Jackson and St. Phillip for a time without venturing to make demon-

strations. But on the 17th of April, 1862, Farragut commenced bombarding the forts. After one week's bombardment, at which time twenty-five thousand thirteen-inch shells were thrown, there was not the least damage done. But at half past three o'clock on April 24th, Farragut's fleet steamed up the river and ran the gauntlet between the forts, placing the city at the mercy of the Federals. Commander Lowell and the Mayor resolved to surrender the city to save the women and children, who had not time to escape. This gave occasion to Beast Butler, who was military governor of the island on the first of May.

Such a reign of insolence and terror was never before witnessed in any civilized country. Much is made of the burning of Chambersburg in this section, but this was the only vandalism practiced by the Confederates, while with the Yankees it was a special aim. At Chambersburg it was without the knowledge of the authorities.

He was named Spoony Butler by some of his men for the amount of silver spoons he took from the citizens. He had no respect for women or young girls. The rings and jewelry of every description were filched from all who possessed them with scandalous treatment and torture. In some instances the dead were dug up and robbed of their jewelry, if perchance some were buried with rings or other ornaments. So vile and contemptible did he render himself to friends and foes that these cognomens followed him to his grave.

You have heard of this murderous and miserly villain, I

am sure, so I will only give an instance that may not have been generally known, and in which a lack of mind was prominently manifest. A young man, by name Mumford, had taken down a United States flag, which some soldier had placed there, and which was wrongfully there. The taking of it down was an act of war and not a crime, and was done before Butler had gotten possession of the city. Butler ordered this young man to be hanged for this unavailing act, and he was hanged—a cold blooded murder. The young man said, when standing on Butler's gallows, "I consider that the manner of my death will be no disgrace to my wife and child; my country will honor them." And so it will, and so it does to-day, since men's passions have had time to cool, and all of the hot heads of the country have gone to their reward, the name of this man Butler stands in impartial history by the side of the most infamous criminals of the world. What a calamity was this visited upon the fair South by these outlaws. I shall not stop here to describe an ideal of circumstantial happenings, but will treat the end and the means towards the same in my last section.

Now let us go back to the Shenandoah Valley and see what is going on. We find Shields, Jackson and Banks had been in that region all winter, supposing that Jackson had left the Valley; Banks went off to Washington. One who was with Jackson's army said, "I did not think that old Stonewall was going to move in such terrible weather, but when it was known that the General's servant had packed up, I knew we were bound for a tramp somewhere." The servant said, "Whenever I

misses massa a little while in de day, I allers knows he's prayin' a spell; and when he's out all day I knows we's gwine to move next day. But when he stays and comes back at night to have a long spell of prayin', dar's gwine to be a fought somewhar mighty quick, and dis chile packs up de valuables and gits out of de way, like a sensible colored person."

How much valuable service these devoted servants rendered the South would make an interesting volume. General Williams, of Winchester, Va., told the writer that he got many a good rest at home by depending upon his faithful negro to watch while he slept. He says old Jim has aroused him more than once by yelling, "Dey's coming, boss, dey's comin' sho!"

A writer describing Jackson says: "He may be a fine old man, but I should admire him more in a state of rest than always seeking him in the front. And such a dry old stick—as for uniform, he has none, and his horse is quite in keeping, being a lean old thing of no spirit. Thirty miles a day is nothing for his men through the mud, and if they don't come up to time I'd as lief meet the devil, for he takes no excuse when duty calls. His movements are sudden and unaccountable."

An anecdote is told of this great commander at a battle of Shenandoah Valley. Being dissatisfied with the manner in which one of his guns was handled, he jumped from his horse, and giving the cannon a deadly aim with his own hands, he devoutly raised his eyes and uttered this prayer, "The

Lord have mercy upon their guilty souls," and he gave the order to fire.

After the innumerable blunders of Banks in the Valley, General Shields was sent against Jackson. On the 23d of March Shields marched out in great force and attacked Jackson at Kernstown. The Confederate Generals at this engagement were Jackson, Garnett and Ashby. The superior forces of Shields defeated Jackson, but took no firearms or baggage. Shields himself was wounded in the arm by a shell. He nevertheless had the honor of being the only man who had won the distinction of defeating Jackson.

But Shields' success as a military man did not save him from the persecution of the Yankees at Washington. He had been blind enough to suppose that the war was not to free the negroes, but to enforce the laws of the United States. He therefore did not use his army to steal negroes, or to plunder property or citizens. His faithful adherence to the rules of civilized war, and his refusal to catch the negroes caused Lincoln's government to give him the alternative of resigning or being removed.

Shields went to Washington with Sumner, and in the presence of Lincoln, Sumner began to upbraid him for not allowing the negroes to come within his lines. Shields replied, "That the negroes came in long enough to act as spies and then go back to tell the Confederates all they heard." He also said when he accepted his command it was with the understanding "that the object of the war was not to abolish slavery, but to preserve the

Union." Sumner replied that "if the war was not to free the negroes, he would be in for stopping it to-morrow." Mr. Lincoln made no comment upon this remark. Observed General Shields: "You remember only a little more than a year ago Congress declared publicly, in order to raise the army, that when the Union was restored the war ought to cease."

This makes four generals who lost their commands because they insisted upon conducting the war on the rules recognized by all Christian nations, and also because of their understanding that the object of the war was to preserve the Union, and not to free negroes.

In this connection I shall mention the treatment McClellan received at the hands of the authorities at Washington. Lincoln deceived McClellan as to the aid to be given him to take Richmond. Lincoln said to McClellan that it was the pressure brought upon him that caused him to deceive him at a vital moment. What an army and how splendidly equipped was it as it started, embracing four hundred steamers, 121,500 men, 14,000 animals, 44 batteries, besides the wagons, pontoon trains, etc.

The first engagement this army encountered was at Yorktown, where they met the Confederate army under Longstreet and others. Here the second time the leaders at Washington frustrated McClellan's plans by detaching part of his army just as he needed it. One of McClellan's officers remarked, "That the leaders did not want him to take Richmond." Mc-

Clellan replied, "Such treachery seems impossible, and yet it does look like it."

Colonel Lomax, of the Nineteenth Mississippi Regiment, was killed in leading a charge against Dan. Sickles' brigade, and his negro servant recovered the body in the Federal lines and carried it several miles on his back and took it on to Richmond to the bereaved wife, to keep a promise he had made "That he would never let his master's body fall into the hands of the enemy."

In almost every town in the South the negroes gave balls and fairs for the benefit of the Confederates, and sent thousands of dollars, clothes and blankets for "Massa and de boys." In Vicksburg alone the negroes raised $1,000 and gave it all for the Confederate cause.

Although the Northern newspapers tried to keep up a good face on the fight at Yorktown and Williamsburg, the people saw something was wrong in the field. The authorities at Washington, from now on, were trembling at the result of Jackson's work for a short while, and were dreading the probability of the Confederate army entering Washington, after soundly thrashing Freemont at different points and burning the bridges behind him, so effectually outwitting them that the Yankees at Washington began to shake when Jackson's name was mentioned. But this ended Jackson's brilliant campaign in the valley.

In the 31st of May was fought the great battles of "The Seven Pines" and "Gaines' Mills." The Confederates were again

successful, and but for a difficulty in Huger crossing the river as prearranged, the Federal army would have almost been demolished. One of Longstreet's aids was heard to say after the battle, "It beats everything to think that Huger's slowness has spoiled everything." Said he, "I saw Jeff Davis, Longstreet, Whiting and all of them a little while ago looking as blue as thunder. As it turned out we have only gained a victory."

Jefferson Davis issued a short congratulatory address to the army which so gallantly won this victory, closing with these words: "You are fighting for all that is dearest to man, and though opposed to a foe who disregards many of the usages of civilized warfare, your humanity to the wounded and prisoners was the fit and crowning glory to your valor. Defenders of a just cause, may God have you in his keeping."

On the 12th of June, just twelve days after this battle, which was followed by the retreat of McClellan's army, Ben. Butler issued the following impudent and deceptive bulletin in New Orleans: "On June 21st Richmond was evacuated and General McClellan took possession of the city! General Banks has driven Jackson headlong to the foot of General McDowell, who before this has probably kicked him over the border. So ends the drama! It is enough!" During the whole progress of the war thus were the people insulted by certain of Northern journals, and generals. After this there was a pause for some time in the war; Lee making prodigious preparations to strike the enemy before Richmond and Jackson coming from the valley

to assist him. This movement excited the authorities again lest Jackson should be after going into Washington.

On the 26th of June began the battle in front of Richmond by Hill and Longstreet. All day the battle surged to and fro, and thousands of brave fellows fell on both sides, until dusk, when the Confederates sought the cover of a woods, being so exhausted, and McClellan's men, mistaking silence for defeat, moved a heavy mass of infantry to attack them; cheer after cheer went up as they advanced. The Confederates crouched closely to the ground, and when the Federals were within a hundred yards of them, they fired a deadly volley in their closed ranks, then rising with a yell, dashed through the smoke and fell upon them with bayonet, pistol and bowie knife. The Federals fled in confusion. At this time General Hood, of Texas, came in for a final charge, and about the same time Jackson's artillery broke upon the retreating columns of McClellan's line, while McClellan perhaps was dreaming that Jackson was in in the valley.

Thus ended the battle of Gaine's Mills. The Confederates lay fast asleep the next morning where they were left by their vanquished foes; the field was a rich booty—brass cannon and bronze field pieces, with horses and caissons and cannoniers exactly as they had been left, thousands of prisoners and small arms, banners, drums, etc. Many a poor dead Federal served for a pillow for the exhausted Confederates that night. Many fine horses were found hitched to the guns with their throats cut to prevent their falling into the hands of the Confederates.

But, while Lee had gained a great victory, it was at the cost of some of his best officers. General Wheat was killed while making a charge at the head of a Louisiana battalion. His dying words were, "The field is ours, boys, bury me upon the battlefield!" Let it be said here, as confirmed by many Confederates, that the Federals were never known to withstand a saber charge.

Alas! alas! how many brave men, on both sides, lay down their lives in a war brought on by a few fanatical wretches. A war as unnatural as it was terrible.

McClellan's army was in imminent danger of being gobbled up by Lee's forces as he hastened to the banks of the James River to the protection of his gunboats, these friendly supports which had so often saved Grant's army in the West. General Hood said, "If Grant or Sherman, or any other officer but McClellan had conducted that retreat, the whole army would have been annihilated."

On the 29th of June Lee overtook a portion of McClellan's army at Savage Station, on the York River Railroad, where the Federals had entrenched themselves to check Lee's army and give the advance retreat a chance. After three or four hours the Federals were driven from the entrenchments and made a double quick retreat to overtake the main army.

On July 3 the Confederates were again surprised to overtake another check at Frazer's Farm, by a portion of the army covered by sage pines completely. At the first fire, batteries of sixteen guns opened upon the advancing columns of Hill, be-

sides several lines of battle, giving a murderous fire. Immediately the Confederates rushed forward, into the jaws of death. Swinton says of this conflict: "Finally Randall's battery was captured by a fierce charge made by two Confederate regiments advancing in wedge shape, without order, but with trailed arms. Rushing up to the muzzles of the guns, they pistoled or bayonetted the cannoneers."

An English officer has the following story to tell:

"After returning from viewing as much of the battlefield as possible, in the darkness, I observed a light in Frazer's house, from which smoke was coming; feeling cold, I entered. Before the fire sat a middle-aged negro, wrapped up in a blanket and shivering. 'What's amiss, uncle?' as I took a coal to light my pipe.

"'De Lord bless you massa! de chills, de chills!'

"'Were you here during the fight?' I asked, taking a stool.

"'No, sah! dis chile was in de woods! de bes' place fer me when them ar bullets com a whisin an singin roun yer head!'

"Was I scart? I guess I was. It was wus ner half-dozen scars at one time.

"'It wuz this way. When old massa hert the Lincombites was comin' round dese diggins, Pete! says he, I'se gwine to Richmond, and I wants you ter see to things, an' mind de Lincombites don't run off wid anything; dey won't hurt you, says he, but if de only catches me, I'm a gone chicken.'

"'Well, massa, one ebenin,' while I was eaten supper, up comes a whole lot of Lincombites and says dey, "Whar's de mas-

ter, nigger? In Richmond, say I, an' went on eaten; but a big feller says to me:

"'Hi, nigger, yer wanted out here,' and I went out.

"'Who's dem turkeys 'long to?' says anoder.

"'If you' don't bring me some milk I'll bust yo' head,' says one in de crowd.

"' Pull dat bed out here, says anoder.'

"'Tech him up wid de baynet, says anuder,' and case I cudn't 'gin to speak to 'em all somebody kicks me on de shin and I runs in de house. One of de men with traps on his shoulder comes an' makes 'em kind o' quiet, but I find out dey had stolen my supper, an' de bed, an' de chairs, an' dey din't even leave me my ol' pipe. If this is de Union folks, tinks I, dey won't suit dis darkey, sure! So after dey stole all de chickens, and de turkeys, and de cabbage, and de taters, I thought it was 'bout time for dis chile to leave. So I packs up two or free things in a handkerchief an' puts out.'

"'Halt dar!' says a big feller wid a gun, "Where's you gwine, darkie?' says he.

"'I'se gwine to Richmond,' says I, 'to massa to get something to eat.'

"'O, yu thick-headed nigger, says he, doen't yu kno' we's de great 'leberation army of de Norf' an' come to sot all de niggers free?'

"I'se a free col'd pussen, anyhow, says I, and kin go anywhar I'se a mind to,' an' was gwine to pass him, when two sodg-

ers seized me by de scruff of de neck and hauls me up before de kurnel.

"'Where did you kotch de contraband?' says he, smokin' a cigar, big like, and frowing out his legs.

"'I'se a free man, sah,' says I.

"'Hol' you tongue,' says he, gittin' kin' o' red; if dese people dosn't kno' de blessin' of liberty, dey mus' be taught, dat's all.

"'Take him off to de guard house, sargent,' says he, and 'kase I said I'se free de sargeant begins to kick de cloth out of my pants.

"'And dare dey had me, massa, more an' a week, feedin' me an' lots of other darkies on black beans and pork, massa's hogs won't eat. But when I hears de firin' goin' on, now's de time for dis chile, says I, and gits out of de way right smart for an ole darkey. First, I gits to de right, but de bullets fly so mighty thick I runs off somewhar else; den one of dem big screechin' things comes 'long and I begins to say my prayers mighty fast; den, while I lay behind a tree, our folks come up makin' a big noise, I lay very close to de groun'. But I got mighty scart an' runs clare into de swamp, and dar I stay until jus' now, when I crawls home agin shivern in every jint.'

"'Don't talk to me, massa, 'bout de Norf. I knows how it is; dey only wants to work de life out of de colored folks, an' den dey gives 'em deir free papers to let 'em starve. Dey can't fool dis chile—he knows more nor he wants to know 'bout de great Norvern 'liberation army.'

"'De darkeys better stay wid de old massa, and lib as he libs, and hab doctors to look arter 'em and hab dimes to spend. Dem Yanks is big fools, and dey think they's good as us, but dey ain't half as good as some darkeys, if dey is white and talk big.'"

A true story is told of a Southern negro going to Boston for a job. Failing to get it he soon had to beg; and as he went from one to the other of those "Brown Stone Fronts," ringing the door bells, the common greeting he received was of a negative character, though they called him Mr. Finally he went to the home of a North Carolinian among the rest, who, when he saw it was a negro said, you Nigger you, what are you ringing at my door bell for? go on around to the back door and tell the cook to give you your dinner. The negro threw up his hands exclaiming, "Bless de Lor, Ise found some of our folks.!"

This was a fine sample of the opinions of the negro regarding the Northern men. It was hard and slow work to destroy their confidence in their masters.

It has cost nearly a million lives and nearly five millions of dollars to force upon the negro what they never asked for nor wanted, or can ever learn to use with benefit to themselves or the white people.

The last stand which McClellan's army took before reaching the gunboats was at Malvern Hill, where a hundred cannon of the heaviest caliber were entrenched. McGruder's men rushed right into the mouths of these formidable guns again and again, and each time they were slaughtered. One of the Federals said

since, that he never saw such desperation as the Confederates evinced at the time. Said he, we were prepared to mow them like winrows, but on they came to certain death, until darkness stopped the dreadful massacre. Again, during the night, McClellan withdrew and stopped only in the security of his gunboats.

Never was such heroism displayed as was the case with these determined men of the South. What made them fight so hard? Ah! not a cowardly spirit of treason, but thorough conviction of right and justice.

Mr. Lincoln now issued a proclamation for 300,000 more troops. The North was generally discouraged and began to doubt their ability of subjugating the South. A fresh hope dawned when they gave Pope command of the fragments of Banks, Fremont, and McDowell's armies, which Jackson had almost destroyed, and sent him with the order to plunder and destroy everything belonging to the citizens of the South.

After July 25, '62, an order was issued commanding the arrest of all citizens of the Confederate States and to make them take the oath of allegiance to Lincoln, to give security for keeping it or be banished from their homes; and if they returned to be shot as spies. McClellan at once issued a contrary order to his men for the sake of decency and civilization. Hence, from this date the war was one against population and property , and not armed forces. McClellan's command lasted but a short time after this severe reprimand to Lincoln.

I fear to make my assertions along this line without giving

my authority. Halleck said, "We will soon crush the rebellion and then place our heels upon the sneaking traitors of the North." He meant such as would not consent to violate the constitution they loved. Governor Stone, of Iowa, said, "I had rather sleep, eat, drink and live with a negro than with a Democrat."

The newspapers of the North were full of demands upon Lincoln to set the negroes free, and not until this was done would the war be a success, but Lincoln and Seward would not risk so decided a move as yet, for he needed to deceive more people to keep up the army, notwithstanding the heavy bounties already offered.

Now we have come on to the second battle of Manassas, at which time the Southern army was getting short of provisions, and Jackson was sent to draw on Banks—known as Jackson's commissary. Jackson, with 8,000, struck Banks with 15,000, and captured 5,000, killed 2,000 men and wagon loads of ammunition and arms.

Pope, who had boasted that his headquarters should be in the saddle, and that they would now do a big business in Rebel skins, was entrapped, and Stuart swept around his camp and burned it, after taking many prisoners. So pressed was Pope that all of his private papers fell into the hands of Stuart, as well as his pants and coat.

The marching and fighting soldiers, sometimes from sheer hunger, would inquire for rations, when Jackson would say, "Never mind, the enemy is not far ahead and they have plenty."

One of Jackson's venturesome exploits was to march with 20,000 men literally between Halleck's and Pope's armies, each of which was double his own in numbers, on to Bristow station. The Confederates appeared so suddenly that Pope's army left without even a skirmish. Manassas fell into the hands of Jackson with all of its stores of every description. He thus came into possession of nine cannon, seven trains of store goods, ten locomotives, 50,000 pounds bacon, 100 barrels beef, 200 barrels flour, 5,000 pounds pork, hay, oats corn and ammunition. The telegraph line was in order, and the rejoicing Confederates telegraphed to Alexandria calling for an immediate supply of artillery, wagon harness, and all such things as they needed.

The Federal commandant having no suspicions of Jackson being near, sent the order forward at once, all of which fell into the hands of the Confederates. In the meantime, Lee was hurrying to meet Jackson at Bull Run. Pope bombastically said, as he gathered all of his army, "That he would bag Jackson this time."

Jackson was preparing for the fierce conflict which he knew was coming, and the odds he had to meet. On the 27th of August Pope's advance came upon Jackson unawares and was driven back. That night Jackson moved to the old battle ground of the first Bull Run, which gave him a good chance.

There was a good deal of fighting on the 29th, but the decisive battle did not occur until Saturday, the 30th. Lee's whole army had arrived and was in position for a terrible battle. A Northern correspondent, speaking of the way the rebels fought,

said: "They came on like demons emerging from the earth." Pope's army was completely routed and never stopped until it was within a safe distance of the defences of Washington. He lost in killed and wounded 32,000 men, and 9,000 prisoners. Poor Pope fell to rise no more.

It was a bitter pill for the administration to put McClellan in command again of the Army of the Potomac. But the cry, "Washington is in danger" and the army demanded McClellan.

On th 4th of Sptember, Lee crossed the Potomac and put the Federals on the defensive. With Generals Jackson, Longstreet and Hill. Lee supplied his commissaries at Harper's Ferry. Longstreet held the mountain pass, against McClellan's forces, to prevent him from reinforcing Harper's Ferry, which Jackson captured the next day after South Mountain battle. 12,000 prisoners were taken here, seventy-three pieces of artillery and two hundred wagons. Lee seeing that McClellan was massing his whole army of nearly 100,000, united his at Sharpsburg with 45,000, and on September 17th the great battle of Antietam was fought.

Swinton, the Federal historian, admits that the battle was won by the Confederates, for during the night McClellan disappeared from the front and left the dead upon the field. The Federals stopped six or seven miles north of where the battle began, and all day of the 18th neither renewed the attack. The Northern papers as well as their histories claimed the battle, which was a great mistake. The writer was within easy sound of the battle, and saw McClellan's army north of the Bakers-

ville road, as he drove over the field of battle two days afterwards.

It is not generally known that an ammunition train of the Confederates was attacked at or near Hagerstown and destroyed, but for which the battle of Antietam would have been renewed by Lee on the 18th. During the night of the 17th reinforcements crossed the river at Shepherdstown, three miles from Sharpsburg, and but for the lack of ammunition, would have been fresh troops in the field on the 18th. On the night of the 18th Lee crossed the river into Virginia at Shepherdstown. What wonderful sagacity must have been employed by the Confederates, that with one-half numbers, and shortage of ammunition, as to be ordered again and again to hold their fire, they should have been successful.

While the authorities at Washington claimed the battle at Antietam, a consistent explanation was not given why McClellan formally and decidedly lost his command. It was not one of Jackson's victories, for he would have had them all in the river. The Federal's loss was 12,000 and that of the Confederates 8,000. On the 20th McClellan attempted to cross into Virginia, but was driven back by A. P. Hill. This ended all attempts to follow into Virginia. Lee took back with him all the stores gathered in Maryland, and the spoils of Harper's Ferry. Of course these stores were paid for in Confederate money, excepting those captured in battle. At the time of Antietam battle the Confederate soldiers were without rations for five days. Green apples and roasting ears were almost their only food.

The abolition leaders had for their excuse in removing McClellan that he allowed Lee to do so much damage in Maryland and then cross again into Virginia safely.

On the 22nd of February Lincoln issued his preliminary proclamation of emancipation. He announced that if the Rebels did not submit by January 1st, 1863, he would issue an edict freeing all the slaves, and would pledge the government to maintain that freedom. Of course he had no right to issue such a decree any more than to declare himself President for life. The proclamation reached to Maryland, Delaware and New Jersey as well, which had never seceded. You remember he had solemnly declared that the war was to preserve the rights of the States. Thousands of soldiers had enlisted under this solemn provision, and had McClellan resigned his position when such an infamous announcement was made, it would have ended the war.

The war was all the time progressing in the West, and the Democrats and better people of Missouri and Kentucky almost went wild when they found eventually they would no longer have the defence of the Confederate army. The most horrible cruelties were imposed upon the people. An officer by the name of McNeil has made himself immortal by his atrocities. One incident will serve to illustrate. A so-called Union man by the name of Allsman was missing. McNeil issued an order that unless Allsman was found in ten days he would shoot ten Confederate prisoners. Ten days elapsed and Allsman was not found. In vain the citizens and their wives and children plead

and protested that they had not harmed him and knew nothing of him. But McNeil shot in cold blood ten innocent citizens of Missouri to slack his cannibal appetite. Afterward Allsman turned up alive and well but was later killed by the Confederates.

Nor were all the cruelties practiced in the West. The writer remembers most vividly yet, when a little babe was taken by the feet from a cradle in Virginia and dashed against a tree, knocking out its brains because it was called Lee. When these scenes are rehearsed, after forty years, are they not considered the darkest events that have disgraced the history of mankind. More cruel and evil were the agencies employed in this strife than those under Alexander and Napoleon.

"Burnside's on to Richmond," is the next failure to relate of the Federal army. All at once the abolitionists found out that Burnside was just the man they were looking for. Doubtless, Burnside's crossing the famous bridge at Antietam, gave him popularity with the leaders, but there was no more truth in his ability as a general than in the fact of his crossing the bridge; for at his attempt to cross the bridge all of his own men were killed but two, and at the second attempt all were killed but one, when an old farmer told him to go 50 yards below and wade. He persuaded the authorities to let him have his way about changing the base of the army and thus trap Lee, as he said. But the whole movement of Burnside was as well known to Lee as to himself. Lee effectually deceived Burnside, whilst he was busy trying to deceive Lee.

On the night of the 10th of December Burnside began

throwing his pontoon bridges across the river at Fredericksburg, and all was visible to Lee posted on the bluffs overlooking the town. Lee designedly made but little resistance to the army to impress that weak man that only a small part of his army had been left to hold the town.

On the 12th Burnside occupied Fredericksburg, and the news was flashed to Washington that Brunside had gained a great victory. Sums of money were bet that Burnside would be in Richmond in ten days. On the 13th of December Burnside attempted to make short work of what was left of Lee's army before him. He little knew that Lee's whole army was anxiously awaiting him, though it only comprised 80,000 men as against 150,000 in Burnside's army.

Lee was personally on the field all day of the great battle, which followed; but Burnside remained two miles away on the other side of the river, with glass in hand, on top of the "Phillips House." Lee had arranged to let his left flank fall slowly back to draw Burnside to where he wanted him, and opened fire all along the line. The slaughter was awful. Whichever way the invaders turned they met sure death. Had his army been 300,000 the results of the day would have been the same. General Hancock led 5,000 men into the fight that morning and at night had lost 2,013 of them, of whom 156 were commissioned officers. Burnside's loss was 12,000 and over.

An English officer on the Confederate side said, "Our loss was 2,000." He further said that "Lee's position was unassailable." It was not only a scientific battle, but a wholesale

slaughter pen. At night Burnside re-crossed the river after two days, having lain quietly in the valley without an attempt to renew the battle.

To save his men as much as possible, always a consideration with Lee, he did not follow up his advantages; probably thinking that Burnside would attack him again. Burnside's army was so demoralized that had Lee made an attack the next morning, he likely would have almost annihilated his army.

Again, in the town, the most terrible vandalism prevailed for the short time Burnside was there. Even the churches were wantonly defaced. Arson, robbery, torture of women and children, horrible to relate, occurred. The New York Tribune gave, with rejoicing, the following account of the horrors: "The old mansion of Douglas Gordon, perhaps the wealthiest citizen in the vicinity, is now used as the headquarters of General Howard, but before he occupied it, all the elegant furniture and works of art had been broken up by the soldiers.

"When I entered it in the morning, before its occupation by General Howard, I found the soldiers of his first division decorating themselves with the rich dresses found in the ladies' wardrobe. Some had on bonnets, of the fashion of last year, and were surveying themselves before the mirror, which was afterwards pitched out of the window. Others had scarfs around their necks, and shawls around their waists."

The Tribune did not comment upon the stealing of jewelry, plate-ware, etc.

For about a month after this Burnside floundered about in

the mud along the Rappahannock river, when he became satisfied that many of his officers held him in contempt; so he, with one bold stroke, dismissed from service, Hooker, Brooks, Newton and Cochran; and removed from command of the Army of the Potomac, Franklin, Sterling, Ferrow and Taylor.

Upon this he went to Washington and demanded the President's approval of this, or accept his own resignation. So the President accepted the resignation of Burnside, and appointed Hooker to his place.

Let us now for a short while, examine Lincoln's doings in the North outside of military affairs. It has always been held as the right of every citizen to oppose the policy of an administration when one thought it wrong. Mr. Lincoln would not allow this, and accused everybody of opposing the Government who protested against his un-constitutional acts. His first assault was upon the press. In July, 1861, he ordered all the leading Democratic papers be denied circulation through the mails. Later it was followed by an attack upon the Democratic press over the North. Mobs were raised to destroy printing offices, and in some cases, editors were killed, others injured.

A mob attacked the office of The Democrat at Catskill, N. Y., where the editor concealed himself, and as the mob began pelting the windows with stones he took deliberate aim and sent a charge of shot into the hips of one of the leading mobites This gave them occasion to leave very suddenly.

Three hundred and fifty arrests were made by Seward alone up to December, 1861, only seven months, besides many whose

names could not be ascertained. Some one estimating the whole number of arrests made during the war, without knowing the cause, was about 3,000. Many females were included who became victims of some one's spite or grudge. All sorts of means were used to intimidate people. In New York city were seen copies of the following circular used to frighten ladies into submisssion who attempted to talk of the war:

Headquarters of the Union Vigilance Committee.

New York, April, 1861.

Madam: As a person favoring traitors to the Union you are notified that your name is on record on the secret list of this association, your movements are being strictly watched, and unless you openly declare your adherence to the Union, you will be dealt with as a traitor. By order of

SECRETARY.

The New York Tribune declared that "the system of detective police was bearing the happiest fruits." There had never been a danger of too little union but of too much. There could be no gain to a state in withdrawing.

Mr. Lincoln was a supporter and a reader of the "Boston Liberator," a paper flaunting the motto that "The Constitution is a league with death and a Covenant with Hell."

I shall only have to narrate a few of the outrages of like character in the different sections:

At Alexandria, Va., on February 9th, 1862, Rev. Stuart was in the pulpit preaching, when an officer with a file of soldiers

seized him and dragged him through the street, snatching the prayer-book from his hand. The cause for this was that he did not pray for the President.

Rev. J. D. Benedict, in New York State, was sent to Old Capital Prison, Washington, for preaching from the text, "Blessed are the Peacemakers;" while schools of boys were demanded to take the oath of allegiance, or be imprisoned.

In Kentucky two brothers refused to take the oath and were kept in prison for two years. Judges of courts were also arrested and imprisoned. Fort Lafayette was full of prominent editors of Democratic journals. David C. Walters, of Michigan, was arrested and sent to this place for the trivial cause of his children raising upon a pole an old shirt through which blackberries had been strained.

Dr. L. M. Boss, of Illinois, was sent to prison because he was seen to draw his finger under his nose. It was reported to Seward that this was a sign of a secret organization.

In 1861 the members of the Legislature of Maryland and some of the Police Commissioners were sent to Fort McHenry.

So great had these outrages become that the fall elections were carried by the Democrats. Seymour was elected Governor of New York, and was pledged to restore the press at all hazards. When Lincoln and Seward heard this they were cowed, and in January issued an order to allow all papers to circulate in the mails.

After this they were not so bold about arrest, and allowed the War Department to make a sort of sham tribunal. The

object of all this on the part of the President is very obvious, viz.: to serve the purpose of intimidation to the support of the administration.

But to further give some connecting links of the occurrences of the battles will come next to the battle of Murfresboro, which resulted in favor of the Confederates. In fact, most of the advantages were in favor of the South up to this time, with some alternatives of success through the West and South.

The North was very much discouraged. For a long time the siege of Vicksburg had been going on without any visible effect. Among the other things the North had expected before this, was a general uprising of the negroes against their masters. The negroes showed a decided leaning the other way until they were offered a farm and mules after the war.

I cannot refrain from giving an account of an old darkey cook who insisted upon following his master to the field. This negro's name was Pompey and was a preacher among the darkeys. One day he was met by another darkey, who asked, "Whar's yo' gwin, Uncle Pomp? You ain't gwin up dar to hab' all de hare singed off yer head, is yo?"

Uncle Pomps shouldered his gun, as he said: "De Lord hab mercy on us all, boys, here dey comes again! Take care, massa, an' hole your rifle square, as I showed yo' in de swamp. Dar it is, dem Yanks can't shoot worth a bad five cent piece. Now's de time boys," and as the Alabamians returned a withering fire, Uncle Pomp was heard to shout, "Pitch in white folks, Uncle Pomp's behind yu.' Send all the Yanks to de ternal flames.

Sail in Alabam, stick 'em wid de baynet an' send do onery cusses to de state of brimstone. Push 'em hard, boys, an' when dey's gone may de Lor' had mercy on 'em. Don't spar none of 'um for de Lor' never made such as dem, no how. Dat's you'! Now yo's got 'em. Give 'em goss—show 'em a taste of ol' Alabama."

A man who was wounded and sat behind a tree, hearing this jumble of oaths, prayers and snatches of scripture as Uncle Pomp loaded and fired so rapidly and was so excited and full of rage, could not help bursting out in a roar of laughter notwithstanding his pain. Such evidence was not encouraging to those who expected the contrary of the negroes.

An old negro appreciated a boss and despised one who would place himself upon an equality with him. One upon whom you can depend today for honesty and honor will admire you more for snapping your finger at him and calling sharply to him, than for asking him if he will please do so and so. To the former he will take off his hat and respond promptly, whilst to the latter he will make some excuse to dodge him.

The negro has no use for the Yankee ideas of pawing the ground and ranting like a mad bull to get the last cent possible, and holding on to it like grim death. I only knew one negro whose ambition led him to scorn a good time and fail to make the most out of everything pleasurable and ludicrous. This one belonged to the Davises and bought himself free, paying one dollar for his freedom, and bought his wife, and then bought a farm and paid for it. He was crippled up with rheumatism and neuralgia long before he died. The negroes generally

thought him a fool to work so hard for money, and gave him no credit for keeping it. To hunt 'coons, dance and tell tales of their own is the height of their ambition in their sphere of usefulness and geniality. To deprive them of these is to spoil their morals.

One must go South to ascertain what intimacy (in a certain sense so) existed between a slave holder and his slaves. Many an overseer has been beaten and driven from the plantation by the planters, who never talked unkindly to their slaves.

There are plenty of old negroes living still, who will tell you that Old Boss would be the surest man to put a load of buckshot into the one who laid hands upon one of his slaves. The old pathetic songs of the Southern negroes are not fictitious. The old tales, such as those of Uncle Remus, are not fabulous, as the Northerner is still taught to believe.

The Southern people are scoffed at for the supposed inconsistency of respecting a faithful negro more than an unworthy and self-abased white man. A little reflection and fairness, however, will evince the plausibility upon the ground principle that "To whom much is given much is required, and to whom little, the opposite." The one may have ten talents, the other one.

O that the South had a literature! That the people were more for divulging to humanity the secrets of the delicacy of their society. Such affection and sympathy are known to no other people under the sun. They simply squander all such

qualities as their hospitality and their affections, as well as their means.

Do not, dear reader, count this a hasty and doubtful sentimentalism until you have made the test personally. You have heard it said of a generous man that he would give his last cent to relieve distress, and perchance such an one may be found in the grinding mill of the North, but this is the rule in the South, and not the exception.

But were I to write volumes I could never tell one-half, and can only hint at realities. So, go South before you die; go with an open heart and a smiling face, and see what you are capable of enjoying in this home of men's temporal lives when unfettered by greed and competition, and all the horrors of selfishness.

We next come to Hooker's campaign in the regular course of events. Hooker spent three months in reorganizing the demoralized army which Burnside had forsaken. He finally pronounced it the finest army on the planet. Against this Lee had but 50,000, and many a man was mobbed for entertaining a doubt of his success in taking Richmond. His superior equipment and numbers gave him almost ten to one against Lee.

At Chancellorsville he concentrated his army. Hooker now said, "The enemy must either fly or come out from their defenses and meet us on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him." They may as well pack their haversacks and make for Richmond.

On Friday evening Hooker formed his line of battle on

ground of his own choosing and awaited an attack from Lee on the morning of May 2. Lee, with Jackson, fell upon him with such force as to drive him almost to the Rappahannock again. Swinton, the historian, said: "The plain around Chancellorsville presented a spectacle like a simoom sweeping over the desert." With drawn sabres the staff opposed the flying fugitives, but in vain.

The Confederates had won a great battle, but at the cost of many battles, in the loss of Jackson. The messenger, telling Lee of Jackson's mishap, said it was the General's intent to press the enemy next day, Sunday. General Lee replied, with emotion, "These people shall be pressed to-day." What a shock it must have been to this tender-hearted man to see so rare a man, so devoted to the cause, lay down his sword forever. 'Tis said of Lee that he stopped amid the roar of cannon to replace a sparrow's nest which was shaken from its place by the jar of the thundering artillery.

Stuart took Jackson's place at daylight, opening the attack with the battle cry, "Charge and remember Jackson." The enemy, whom Hooker was sure to bag, had whipped him unmercifully. Hooker lost 17,000. He finally brought up, just where all before him did, in the person of McDowell, Pope and Burnside, in the defences of Washington. His command was next given to Meade.

All was quiet now until the first week in June, when Lee began to move forward and finally crossed the Potomac into Maryland. When Lee marched straight through Maryland into

Pensnylvania a panic seized the surrounding country. People ran away from Pittsburg, Harrisburg and Philadelphia, and many valuables were sent to New York. Five thousand men were put to work at Pittsburg to build fortifications. Lee finally concentrated his forces at Gettysburg, where occurred on the 1st of July, 1863, one of the most important battles of the war. If Lee had been content to lie still, as did the Federals, he would not have gone through the heavy fighting which occurred. But every day was telling upon his short supply of rations, and he knew how few were at home to till the soil.

On the first day's fight General Reynolds, of the abolition army, was killed, and the Confederates took 600 prisoners and 10 pieces of artillery. The next day was quiet until four o'clock, when Lee said the enemy was entrenched on Cemetery Hill, and there he was going to attack him. But the favorable position and enormous numbers were more than he could dispatch with what ammunition he had along, and hence, when reinforcements came to the Federals just as things were favorable again for the Confederates, and after one of the grandest charges on record, by Pickett which was not supported by Longstreet as ordered, from some cause, Lee's army gradually fell back, though without haste or confusion, leaving the Federals too much shattered to follow, and it was considered a drawn battle. Lee had expected to capture his ammunition from the Federals, but being unsuccessful, he was unable to continue the fight.

Lee safely took with him droves of horses, cattle and mules captured in Pennsylvania. When he reached the Potomac the

river was swollen on account of recent rains, and for three days he encamped near Falling Waters and Williamsport, where he threw up entrenchments in case the Yankees should attempt to attack him. The writer of this knows whereof he speaks when he says that Lee had not two rounds of ammunition at this time and with the river in front he was almost helpless. Just as the last of the army was crossing the river on pontoons the Federal army came rushing up to attack him.

We had our amusing seasons amid all the adverse vicissitudes of those harrowing days. After the skirmish an hireling and the writer went out and picked up some guns and pistols, and were going home, when we discovered in a thicket a good looking horse, which we thought we might hide away at home for a while and use. At first we thought the horse was wounded or very lame, or something of the kind to be left behind, but as you will see, he was an obstreperous fellow.

I got up to him, and grabbing his mane, was swung clear off the ground, three times around, before his nose could be reached and his wind shut off. Then it became my job to ride him home without bridle or saddle—I tell you the distance was covered in a short time—when again the trouble arose to get him checked, which was only done by crawling out on his neck, seizing his nose and jerking him into a fence corner.

We turned him into a pasture field running close by a neighbor's house, in which there was a woods, hoping to hide him there in some way until the soldiers were all out of the neighborhood. The amusing part of this narration is, that the

day following we were surprised to see our horse being led by some soldier to our very door, who smilingly said they had gotten a good horse from this man just below us. Such little disappointments were so common then that Moss and I only smiled, and we were right glad when they went on.

Have you ever experienced a sense of utter incompetency upon any vital occasion? If so, you may have some appreciation of my feelings, as a boy, when once upon a time, I confess to have been completely unnerved. Being the only one at home, of the men side of the family, there came suddnly riding into the lane two drunken cavalrymen of the blue coats, when I was sent to meet them by my older sisters and the colored woman, whereupon they dismounted, and rushing into the yard, drew their sabres and demanded a drink of water, right quick, or they would try their hands on me. I was but an instant in getting a bucket full of water and a glass, and hoped that they would be off, but instead, they came on in and demanded dinner.

Old Harriet was not long in giving them the best at hand. Among other things, I remember, she put before them a whole ham, which she had just boiled off, but they only minced, as they were not hungry, and loitered around, cursing and swearing, thus hoping to drive us away, with the intention of ransacking the premises evidently.

Finally they went outside and shot their carbines past the door repeatedly, and yelled for an hour, when we all locked the doors and went up stairs and remained until our parents returned. My father was so aggravated that next morning he

went to Shafer's Mill, where they had just encamped, and found them washing their horses' heads, which they had cut and bruised the day before. They were reported to the officer in charge, who at once discharged them, and gave them short time to leave camp.

At such a time one's spirits either rises to deeds of desperation or succumbs to utter dejection. I don't think I was a cowardly boy, but the enormous responsibility thus thrust upon me, with the awful threats and terrible visages of these men, for that one time, was too much for me.

A similar case occurred just across the river from our home, when a boy but a few years older than myself, rose in his matchless determination, above the sphere of youth, or even mortality, and defied a whole squad of raiders. This boy used to cross the river at the two locks in his little boat and come to Downsville to shop for his mother, who was a widow. I knew him well, a barefoot boy, of listless, noble stride, often walking with us from school he would have but little to say. His name was Norman Whiting.

Just after dark, one Saturday night, there came rushing up the road and into the premises a squad of cavalry; the boy knowing what such raids meant, got his old gun and crouched under the corn crib, resolving to attempt to scare or capture the whole of them, and protect his mother and their home.

When the soldiers were just opposite him he jumped out and called to them to surrender, perhaps thinking the Yankees would suspect more rebels being there, and in their cowardice

flee. But, alas! poor Norman went down, pierced by a dozen balls. The Yankees knew bettter than Norman that that was not the way the Rebels fought, and were safe in their conclusions.

An abolitionist, to have seen a burly negro with a rifle cocked leading a Yankee with whom he had changed clothes, might have been disgusted. Two Southerners who took too much liquor were unable to take charge of the Yankee they had captured, when the negro said to Longstreet, who had asked what it meant, "I was afraid dis' Yank would dodge de boys."

The siege of Vicksburg must be mentioned as one of the most significant occurrences of the war. Sherman had attacked it in December, 1862, but had been so badly repulsed that he was glad to get away. After this General Grant took command. He spent three months making experiments to flank it. At first he cut a canal on the west, but the waters came near drowning his own men. Then he was going to cut a new channel in the Mississippi from Lake Providence to the Gulf of Mexico. But he failed in this. Then he tried a canal from the Yazoo River to a point south of Vicksburg, in which he was also unsuccessful.

But Admiral Porter kept up the excitement with his fleet. Waiting for a dark night he took five ironclads and resolved to run past the Confederate batteries. This was accomplished with the dilapidation of two of his gunboats, but when once past there were no more forts or soldiers between there and Grand Gulf. But Porter amused himself for two weeks throwing shells into the houses containing only women and children. Here

was more cruelty, and a violation of civilized warfare. One morning he gave an order to move upon Grand Gulf, when some one answered, "We have not yet had breakfast." Porter said, "O never mind breakfast, we will take it in half an hour and breakfast afterward." But after a whole day's bombardment, he gave up the job, having had his boats terribly crippled.

Grant, emboldened by Porter's success in passing Vicksburg, decided to transfer his army to the south of Vicksburg, in the rear. By this move the Confederates were overpowered and had to fall back. Johnson tried to raise an army to defend the children from cruelties, but as food was getting scarcer and scarcer he finally, with Pendleton, proposed an armistice.

This was a terrible blow to the Confederacy. The navy of the nation, which the South had helped to make and maintain, was telling upon the South and effecting what the armies of the North could not do.

After the fall of Vicksburg General Gordon surrendered Port Anderson, as it was useless to hold out longer and starve.

The Mississippi river was now open from its mouth. The South was now cut off from Texas. Here again merciless cruelties were practiced upon the unprotected women and children. I will give only one which occurred to the personal knowledge of one of the historians of Virginia. One of Grant's regiments, on a plundering tour, came across a wealthy planter from Kentucky, when they tore open all trunks and work boxes in the house, wrenched the rings from the hands of the ladies and watches from their bosoms; took every article of clothing in the

house, and shoes and stockings from the children's feet. Pictures and family miniatures were destroyed, and everything eatable taken or destroyed. Live animals which could not be taken along were killed and left on the plantation. They threatened to bayonet the brats if the mother did not hold her tongue while she was pleading with them to desist. Shortly after this the lady died and her youngest child. Her surviving daughters are with their friends in Kentucky still. No wonder that today the very name of Yankee carries with it the suggestion of all that is greedy and cruel.

Charleston was the eyesore to the abolitionists. After repeated efforts to take the fort they conceived the barbarous idea of destroying the harbor, by sinking in the channel a large number of vessels laden with stones. The strong current, however, made another channel, just as good as the old one, and the malignity miscarried. The North thought that it would not do for this little city to defy them, so Lincoln went to work at the naval department and built a large number of ironclad vessels, costing many millions of dollars. On the 7th of April, 1863, they steamed up the river most gaily, but met with such a rain of shot and shell that they beat a hasty retreat. More than half of the fleet was disabled.

Then General Gillman tried the effect of a great land force, but was terribly repulsed and glad to abandon the job. Finally Gillman got an immense cannon, carrying a shell five miles, and threw them into the city among the women and children and

sick in the hospitals. Gillman telegraphed to Washington that Charleston was a shapeless mass and harmless.

On September 7th Dahlgren, the naval commander, made a demand upon Beauregard for surrender. Beauregard politely replied, "Come and take it." The Admiral determined to do so, and on the next night sent an expedition to take it by surprise. Major Elliott saw the expedition, and reserving his force until the enemy were within a few yards of the fort, he fired into them. The Confederates almost destroyed the whole business, capturing five boats and a lot of prisoners, also the identical flag that Anderson carried in 1861, which Dahlgren felt so sure he would raise upon this occasion.

Fort Sumpter had been taken so often that the North was sick of hearing about it. It became a standing joke. At Chickamauga again at this time was another great battle, in which the Confederates were more than successful against Rosecrans and Burnside with 95,000 men. This ended the career of Rosecrans. Grant was appointed to this command.

Next was the battle of Missionary Ridge, in which Bragg was defeated by an army large enough to surround him four times.

At Saben Pass, later, the Confederates gained a brilliant little victory. This ended the year 1863.

Congress met in December and made Grant Commander-in-Chief. His success at Vicksburg and Missionary Ridge made him the hero of the hour.

Then came the battle between the Merrimac and the Cum-

berland and later the Merrimac and the Monitor. It was not generally known until after the war that the Monitor was entirely disabled as well as the Merrimac. The Monitor had to be tugged off the field.

It was well said that the South fought the North and the world besides. Mr. Lincoln next announced his emancipation proclamation, and various acts of Congress, authorizing the use of negroes as soldiers for the army. To use the negroes to fight the South was one of the meanest and vilest things they ever did; besides it was an acknowledgment that twenty-five millions of the North could not whip eight millions of the South. There were gotten up flags to be given to these negro regiments, who were made giddy by large bounties, as mementoes. To use their own words the ladies of New York presented to a negro regiment, "Of love and honor from the daughters of this metropolis." This took place in Union Square. After forty years it is hard to conceive of such madness existing. Lincoln and Seward now threw off their masks and openly falsified all their solemn pledges. In the winter of 1863 the soldiers were in a state of mutiny on account of the negro comrades. In New York State there were riots on account of attempts to draft, even where such large bounties were given.

In the State of Maryland the comparative number of men who fought with the North as against those who fought with the South outside of the drafted troops, was small indeed.

Let us look at some of Mr. Lincoln's politics even in the North. In Connecticut Seymour was nominated for Governor,

when Lincoln saw it would not do for a Democrat to be elected, and sent home two or three thousand soldiers to vote against him. Burnside was sent to the West at the elections in October and August in Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois and Indiana. He commenced his despotic course by arresting Congressmen, trumping up stories that they had talked treason. The orders were that no disloyal men should vote, and as all Democrats were considered disloyal, hence were not allowed to vote.

In Chicago the Democrats sent word to Lincoln that if Burnside's order was not rescinded to suppress the circulation of the "Times" then no Republican paper should be issued; and Lincoln at once backed down.

In the West the people suffered so that they organized a society called the "Sons of Liberty" to protect themselves. Many ladies were arrested; the names of some of whom were Bowles, Hersey, Millikin and others, who were sentenced to death, and only escaped through President Johnson after his accession to office.

Horrible tales were gotten up in the North about the treatment of Federal soldiers as prisoners in the South. Pictures were made altogether false and fictitious, and sent North. The affidavits of Kelly and Crook, captured at Cumberland by McNeal's men, of general fame, are on record, that while the fare was rough a soldier could live on it. And yet they absolutely refused to exchange them, as they said thirty or forty thousand Confederates would reinforce the army, and as to the Federals they would not re-enlist, as their time was mostly out. One

"Reb" with his shotgun and home-made powder was worth at least six hired "Yanks," so the exchange was out of the question.

The agreement for the exchange of prisoners was broken by the North. Will quote a message from Davis after the "cartel" was ignored by the North: "The prisoners held by us in spite of human care are perishing from the inevitable effects of imprisonment and the home-sickness produced by the hopelessness of release from confinement. The spectacle of their suffering augments our longing desire to relieve from similar trials our brave men who have spent so many months in a cruel and useless confinement."

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

May 2, 1864.

In 1864 Sherman, finding he could not conquer, went to pillaging. He sent out detachments, and almost destroyed and pillaged Enterprise, Quitman, Hillsboro, Canton, Decatur, and Linderman, destroying the provisions of the inhabitants and robbing them of their money.

At least 10,000 negroes were forced from the plantations, many of whom were taken into the army.

Banks was sent to New Orleans in place of Butler, in March, and a scheme put up to hook a lot of cotton; when he got badly whipped two days in succession.

On the 28th of October Kilpatrick was sent with 5,000 picked men to raid Richmond. There were only the clerks of the stores and old men left; but these, when ordered to surren-

der, killed Dahlgren and routed the division. Upon Dahlgren's body papers were found showing a plot was thus defeated to release the prisoners at Richmond, kill Davis and his cabinet, and burn the city. These papers were placed in the hands of Fitzhugh Lee, who still lives, and the authenticity of this was confirmed from a small note book containing a rough draft of some of the memoranda of the papers. The thought comes up, could the authorities at Washington have sanctioned such actions? But does it not favorably comport with hundreds of cases all through the war? Just here, without any undue insinuations, let me say that whilst history may be perverted for a time, men's deeds follow them and facts are never distorted. Do we not look in vain, even at Washington, for monuments to Lincoln and Seward? Though an attempt was made towards this end.

A book under the title of "The Real Lincoln," was ejected from a library in the North because it termed Lincoln an infidel. No attempt was made to disprove the fact, however. Every reference in the book is from Northern authors. He doesn't make a single assertion of his own. Will some one kindly give some proof of his religious and devotional habits, if such there were; who his pastor was, to what church he belonged, etc., if he is to be held up as an exemplary man for our boys? I do not mean good sayings of a moral character; any man at the head of a Christian nation, or aiming to get there, would for policy's sake recognize the plain virtues of ordinary civilization.

On the 3rd of May Grant cried, "On to Richmond!" his train of wagons alone numbering 4,000. If you will ascertain

correctly the statistics of the battles of Gordonsville, the Wilderness and Spottsylvania you will find how nearly successful he was in his plans. But for his hammering with superior numbers, which were always at command, he should have been run out of Virginia. Grant was badly whipped with his double numbers at all of those battles, with losses double of Lee's, and finally had to retreat, give up the fighting and go to digging. Grant lost 70,000 men. General Meade's report admits 37,700 in the two last engagements.

The historians of the army of the Potomac said the handle of the hammer was broken. Grant's men grew to despise him as a butcher, who preferred masses to maneuvering. After these battles Grant had to stop and send for reinforcements before attempting to go further. And now, when he did go again, it was to be driven back across the North Anna River with more of his men killed.

He now went in the direction of the Chickahominy River. Here another battle occurred, that of Cold Harbor, or one of Grant's slaughter pens. At only one of Lee's assaults Grant lost 13,000 men. Here, and after this, Grant's whole army refused to obey his orders. Not a man stirred, says Swinton, the historian, and a spectator. Grant had now in these five battles lost more men than Lee's whole army. Think of it. Do our American historians give such records for our children to read and study? The truth suppressed is but a lie.

But this hammering of Grant was what the North wanted; just to keep on and starve them out, or any other way to out-

do the South. Grant said he could afford to lose three soldiers to kill one rebel. But after all this slaughter he pulled up exactly where McClellan did two years before. And but for the worn and haggard condition of Lee's army, Grant would have been put out of service like his predecessors; for he was not a superior commander at all, but chanced to be the one on hand when Lee's army had become a skeleton.

Grant now fell back to James River, fifty-five miles, and tried to take Petersburg before Lee could get after him, but here again he found his counter hammer at him. and many more thousands of his men biting the dust. This failure was such a great one that Grant gave up fighting and went to digging entrenchments for the balance of his army. But with all his pains at this time, after two weeks of fruitless attempts to whip Lee, he lost again nearly 20,000 men, without much loss to Lee. An immense mine was dug under a position of Lee's army, which Grant thought would annihilate that portion of the enemy. The 30th of July was fixed upon for the explosion and a general assault through the gap upon Lee's army. The explosion took place at half-past four o'clock in the morning. The only damage this did was to surprise the Confederates for a few minutes. An opening about 150 feet long, 60 wide and 30 deep was made, through which Grant undertook to push his column, with a brigade of negroes under Burnside in front. A fierce fire from Lee's works turned them back with such fright and murder that they fell upon the white troops behind in such confusion as to be terrific, though laughable. So Grant's experiment turned out

to be another slaughter, in which shells and bombs rained, while the obstructing thousands of troops, trying to retreat, were being destroyed. The same historian says, more than 4,000 were killed and captured.

Here may be seen still the triple line of entrenchments sixty miles long. Here may be seen the spot where 150 old men and children held a position until all were killed. Here also may be seen the point at which 250 Confederates repulsed three attacks by 5,000 troops, and when finally captured, only 26 remained standing and firing as the guns were passed up to them by their wounded comrades on the ground. Upon this field the Confederates drove the Yankees from their breastworks by raising their caps upon their bayonets, and when the Yankees fired they rushed upon them before they could reload. At this place upon two acres of ground, more men were killed than could have stood upon the same space at one time.

In September he attacked the defences of Richmond, north of the James River, but met with another repulse. This ended Grant's offensive movements for months.

In May, when he started for Richmond, he sent Seigel to take Lynchburg, and Butler to take Petersburg, both of which failed

Grant next sent Hunter to take Lynchburg. He did not only get whipped but didn't stop until he got to West Virginia, where he arrested two editors for speaking disgracefully of his campaign. He burned the Military Institute, the Governor's house, and committed other fiendish acts in his chagrin.

Seigel went marching up the Valley to pick up Breckenridge with 3,500 men at New Market. Breckenridge fearing lest he should not be able to hold his own against four times his number, 15,000 strong, sent word to General Shipp of the Military Institute at Lexington, to send out the boys to help. Accordingly 300 of them ranging in age from 14 to 17, commanded by Shipp, marched all night in the rain and mud to reach New Market in time. Some of the boys lost their shoes in the mud, but arrived just in time for the fight. Breckenridge was delighted at such exemplary valor, and selected a protected place because of their youthfulness, and placed them there, when they begged to be allowed to fight in the advance, to which Breckenridge finally agreed. The result of the battle, if you have never heard it, was a grand victory for the Confederates. The boys actually charged the lines of the enemy, killed their cannoneers and bayoneted their officers, who at first refused to surrender to a lot of children, as one said. Fifty of their companions, however, were left upon the sod at New Market in killed and wounded.

Hunter's defeat at Lynchburg opened the Valley again as a battlefield, and Jubal Early went down the Valley, capturing all in front of him, and on into Maryland and line of Pennsylvania. Early burned the homes of Governor Bradford and Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, in retaliation for Hunter's burning in the Valley.

Grant now resolved to resort to savage measures. He sent an army under Sheridan to the Valley, which, with Hunter's

force, made an army larger than Early could contend with. He was driven out of the Valley with heavy loss, and Sheridan set to work like a brute to destroy the beautiful valley. Of course, his orders were from Washington. He burned every house, barn, mill, hay stack, grain and all of the plows, harrows, etc., gathering them into heaps. Grant bragged that he had burned 2,000 barns. Ten thousand women and children were thrown out of homes to live as best they could in caves, tents, etc. They called it war. Suppose one had an enemy and should burn his barn; could he justly say that he had a fight with his enemy and defeated him?

Sherman now began his march through Georgia. Johnson's army was less than one-fourth of that of Sherman's. On the 14th and 15th of May Sherman was badly repulsed by Johnson's little band at Resacca. Johnson was finally compelled to fall back to the Kenesaw Mountain.

On the 27th of June Johnson again whipped Sherman, and again his army was flanked and compelled to fall back

It was now the 4th of July, and the time the Confederate General Polk was killed by a shell while surveying Sherman's position. At the opening of the war he laid aside the robes of his ministerial office and went with heart and soul into the contest, to save his country. He had lately remarked, that he felt like a man who had left his business when his home was on fire, to put it out; for as soon as the war was over he should go back to his calling.

Johnson had now fallen back to Atlanta. Davis thought

that Johnson did not do his duty in letting Sherman push him back, and appointed Hood in his place.

On the 20th, 22nd and 28th of July Hood attacked Sherman and punished him soundly, capturing some guns and provisions; but it was only a matter of time with Hood's little band. On the 1st of September Atlanta was evacuated Hood now made for Nashville, but encountered an army under Thomas. Here Hood's army suffered terribly. It was generally thought that Davis made a mistake in the exchange. Johnson finally took charge again.

Winter now came on and the Confederates suffered terribly. On the 16th of December they were compelled to fall back. This ended the events of 1864.

Will stop to say that after the capture of Atlanta, houses and churches were burned, stores ransacked, and hundreds of women and children were compelled to seek shelter in the mountains. At one place Sherman took four hundred factory girls and sent them north of the Ohio River, away from home and friends. Such things are inhuman, and one's blood is made to boil to even relate them.

All the white inhabitants were made to leave the city without regard to age or condition. All who would not take Lincoln's oath were sent South to famish.

Such a stream of men, women and children, with their all in their hands, could be seen wending their way from the desolated city. Hood retorted against this cruelty, but Sherman

said, "War is cruelty! This year we will take your property, and next year your lives!"

Four years had now gone by since Lincoln was elected—who received of the popular vote 1,866,352, while Breckenridge, *et. al.* received 2,810,501. Electoral vote, Lincoln, 180; Breckenridge, 123. The States did not oppose the electoral vote, for their charter of federation allowed that to Lincoln, but also prescribed his province, and described that of the states, which could not have been done according to his own ruling in sending the fleet and army to invade the South, despite the Constitution.

Lincoln's power was now greater than a kings. An army of men, more than a million, did his bidding. Thousands of officials all over the country, such as postmasters, tax collectors, revenue officers detectives spies, marshals, etc., and if he needed more he could just appoint them. Millions upon millions of dollars had been squandered upon contracts for the army and navy, prizes to the officers for taking certain forts and destroying property. So flagrant was this montsrous outlawing, that Congress was actually shamed into making a pretense at investigation. All this robbery was done, remember, by a party claiming to represent a great moral idea.

Of course, no one but Mr. Lincoln was nominated for President, but to pretend to be liberal, Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, was made Vice-President. The Democrats went to work with a will to try to defeat Lincoln, in hope of still saving the country from the perils of consolidation. It was soon discovered

that a fair electin was not to be held. In New York an effort was made to return a fair list of the votes of soldiers, but Lincoln ordered the arrest of one, Colonel North, until after the election.

General Butler was sent to New York three days before the election with a command of troops under him. To some people there has always been a great deal of mystery about this matter. Some of the abolition papers actually threatened to take power by force, in case McClellan should be elected.

Mobile was attacked in July by Farragut, and later, Wilmington, which the Federalists had repeatedly attempted to take. Here Butler tried his heroism again on Fort Fisher by blowing up an old vessel filled with powder, as close to the fort as he could get it; when lo, there was a dull thud and all was over. He was now ironically called the hero of Fort Fisher.

We left Sherman at Atlanta, which, upon leaving, he burned. He now started for the coast and had little opposition in his marauding through the country. He reached Columbia in February, and here he virtually shut his eyes to all that was horrible and devlish. General Wade Hampton purposely evacuated it so that Sherman could have no excuse for bombarding it. The Mayor went out to meet Sherman, and formally surrendered it to General Stone of the Fifth corps. He assured the Mayor that the city should not be disturbed while he was in command. A little later Sherman's main army came up, however, and then destruction began. The citizens were stripped of their clothes, boots and shoes, and at one o'clock the city was fired, after the

stores had been plundered, and all that could be utilized was taken. The citizens rallied to put out the fire, but soon another one started, and the soldiers finally destroyed the fire engines and cut the hose with their swords. As many as 25 fires were burning at one time. The soldiers carried a kind of pitch from house to house to start the flames. Women and children could be seen at the windows of the cracking, crumbling walls and none to help. Sick and helpless women were not excepted, who had rings snatched from their fingers upon their death beds. The people were driven from the churches where they sought safety, and even in the parks fire brands were thrown among women and children. Sherman afterwards said that the city caught fire from burning cotton. Hampton was not the man to be silenced by such assertions, so he wrote a letter giving an account of the fire as above described, and added that not one bale of cotton was on fire when Sherman came, and that he knew it, and that his assertions were false. Sherman never attempted a reply.

Besides Columbia he burned at least a dozen other towns in the Carolinas.

The events of 1865 now flew along thick and fast, without hope to the South; still they held out stoutly. Williamson was next taken, and so on. The Northern army now numbered 200,000 while Lee's forces all told, were not over 20,000.

At this time Congress passed a so-called amendment to the Constitution, by gag law, to legalize Lincoln's edict. Of course eleven states were made to submit at the point of the

bayonet. Yes, the Constitution to which all had sworn to be faithful as it stood until properly amended. This now was new matter in the Constitution and should have resulted by the whole collection of States making it. Did it ever occur to you why the Yankees should be so eager to reconstruct by amending the Constitution, if their object was restoration? Is it not apparent that their aim was for something new instead of the old and true?

The remaining army at this date was upon a ration of one pound of flour and one pound of beef per day. In this starving condition Lee attempted to break through the enemy's lines and breastworks on the 25th of March at Fort Steadman, and for a while swept everything before him, but after losing 2,500 men he fell back.

On the 2nd of April Lee sent a dispatch to Davis that he would that night evacuate Richmond to keep his men from starving.

On the 7th of April Lee received a letter from Grant asking him to surrender. Lee asked what terms he had to offer. Grant replied, "Write your own conditions," which he did, as living witnesses will testify. Grant in his memoirs says: "Had the South held out one year longer the North would have been compelled to grant any terms demanded."

How much better it would have been for the North to have heeded the appeals of the South before the war and have said, "We won't fight if you don't," and left the South to attend to

its own local affairs. Instead of later saying in effect: "If you will quit fighting we will."

How little of morals has ever been accomplished by the sword.

How plainly apparent was it that under a pretense of morality usurpation was achieved.

The following are the terms: "That all officers give their parols not to take up arms against the United States until properly exchanged. The arms and public property to be stacked and packed, and turned over to the officers appointed to receive them. This done each man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by the United States authorities, so long as they observe their parols and the laws in force where they may reside."

Sherman also arranged terms with Johnson, both of which arrangements recognized the rights of the States, and in effect restored the old Union, with assurance that the South should be treated fairly, which assurance could not be had until four years of war had passed. This was the destruction of the South by plunder and vandalism that grieved Lee at the end and not that he had not whipped the North, for he never quite expected to triumph.

But no sooner did the abolitionists hear of the terms than they set up a howl and cry perfectly deafening, and rejected the terms, but were obliged to submit until some means of depression could be improvised.

Scarcely had the announcement of peace been generally cir-

culated when Thad Stephens, Charles Sumner and others said: "The South will at once get control of the Government again if we do not disfranchise the Southern soldier." The uncivilized manner of warfare by the North had been so unpopular that many of the Northern States were ready to resent it with their votes, though they did not do it with their rifles.

Hence, in short, the Reconstruction period in the South was the war over again, after the South had lain down its arms, to avert the compromise between Lee and Grant.

I will close this section of the little book by saying one is filled with absolute disgust to visit the vicinity of Petersburg and see the enormous preparations for the protection of the immense army of the North against the hand-full of Confederates, instead of swooping down upon them and gobbling them up.

DEDUCTIONS.

The decisive battle of the war was the first battle of Manassas, and not Gettysburg, for here Davis decided to suffer wrong rather than do wrong in destroying the Treasury and Navy at Washington; thereby the North was given the opportunity for their vandalism as soon as the Southern army became a skeleton.

The first suggestion of peace from the North was made by Grant at Appomattox, when Lee grasped his hand at once, and the capitulation was made.

Result of the War

III. RESULT OF THE WAR.

Lincoln was now brought face to face with the problem he could no longer dodge. Would he allow the States to resume their old places or would he use his power to compel them to relinquish the State laws and institutions? Would he stand by his word as announced at the beginning of the war, that each State should remain the same whether the war failed or succeeded? It is thought by many of the best men that Lincoln was handicapped by the party who nominated him.

In this connection let us remember that on the 4th of March, 1861, he said that he had no legal right to interfere with slavery, nor any inclination to do so. Did he die a truthful man?

One of Lincoln's jokes goes to show that he often did what he said he would not do. Mr. Henderson once went to Lincoln's Office and seeing him morose asked the cause of it when Lincoln replied: "Sumner and Stephens and Wilson are dogging my steps night and day to emancipate the negro and I can't do it." Henderson just then saw a smile gather over his face as he said, "Henderson, when we went to school we read in the Bible. Once we were reading of the three Hebrew children when a boy blundered so at the names that the teacher boxed his ears. Some time after as the same chapter was being read and it came

near the same boy's time he began to blubber, when the teacher asked what was the matter. He said, "Here come those three damned men again," and Lincoln pointed out of the window to Sumner, Stephens and Wilson just approaching.

In July of the same year he endorsed the resolution that the war was waged to preserve the rights and equality of the States unimpaired. The day before the extra session of Congress adjourned he said to Malvoy, of Kentucky, "This war is carried on with the idea that there is a union of sentiment at the South which, set free from the control of the Confederates, would replace the States in the Union." "If there is not," then said he, "the war is not only a wrong, but a crime." They would have been only too glad to have been not only replaced, but to have remained in the Union. The seceding of the South was a legitimate defense of a worthy principle, which led men to dare to die. Was not the South right in saying that at the first opportunity of usurped power the North would dictate to the states who should be their citizens, and how much tariff protection they should pay to them.

In his inaugural address he further said that the endurance of our "political fabric depends upon the right of each State to control its domestic institutions."

On January 1, 1863, he issued a proclamation declaring that he would use the army and navy to prevent this "endurance" of our political system.

On the 12th of December, 1862, he said that if the Southern States would cease to resist and submit to the Constitution

of the United States, the war should cease on the part of the United States. So with his speech at Gettysburg, it was the opposite of his public principles. Davis and Lee had said it before and with sincerity. Our fathers never conceived of a Northern idea of government, as he intimated.

Did Lincoln not leave the impression in his Gettysburg speech that the South was fighting to destroy the nation "Brought forth by our fathers?" Had not the nation been living under a continuity of principles almost exclusively since its "conception by our fathers," until his administration, supported by those thus accused and opposed by the accuser?

Instead of perpetuating the nation's life as it existed during the "Four score and seven years," was it not the supreme effort of his party to effect a different end?

If his army fought that the nation of our fathers "Might live and not die," and his army was successful, whence the demand for altering the fundamental principles of said nation—the Constitution?

If the Constitution meant to include the negro in the statement that "All men are created equal" (though all know this to have been a malignant pervertion of the writer's ideas) what kind of consistency called for the 14th and 15th amendments, the object of which was to include "Race color or previous condition of servitude?

Does not this act in itself prove that our fathers were understood by those who made the amendments, as not including the negro? Hence if Lincoln's speech was sincere, he thought

the Constitution good, and appreciated the confidence which adopted it; as it had not been amended then yet.

If his actions later were honest he thought the Constitution bad, and wanted it changed to good, by amendments.

Which Lincoln do you admire; the one who made the speech, or the one who ignored the Constitution?

But on July 18, 1864, he published, "To whom it may concern," that he would listen to no terms of peace from the South which did not agree to the abandonment of their rights under the Constitution. Lincoln swore to defend the constitution to the best of his ability, but his ability never was equal to the task. If the constitution had been different he had been more loyal. He was religious too, but after his own notions and not according to the Divine plan.

As the war and excitement increased the hatred of the people, Lincoln found he could step by step go from one thing to another, until he made his record as a trickster and oath-breaker. His proposition to Davis in 1862 to let slavery remain intact if he, Davis, would abandon State Rights and quit fighting, proved his willingness to swap all his boasted sympathy for, and interest in the negro, for the birthright of a section of States; at which time Davis replied "No! We will fight you and you may take the Negro."

Davis deprecated the inevitable consequences of summarily turning such a race loose upon the South as any one, but preferred the power of the evil to the unpardonable crime of ignoring a principle of his constituents. You see, either the negro

vote, or abandonment of State Rights would give party power to aggrandize the General Government, the pet of New England since Hamilton's time. This power was gained by the right of might, and has produced the two greatest calamities our country has ever suffered, viz: The imposition of the tariff protection scheme, and the insubordination of the negro by the "Equal Rights Bill." Out of these two dilemmas have grown the corporate scandals of the North, and the criminal assaults in the South. Before Republicanism shall have lived as long as did Rome with all her power, it shall be proven that Lincoln paved the way for the extermination of the negro, I fear; for one of three things must follow according to all precedents, when two races come together, viz.: amalgamation, subordination, or extermination. Poor negro! Though this would be but a partial expression of sympathy did we not add, poor innocent white women, for at the present rate thousands shall yet fall victims of worse horrors than death itself at the hands of the negro before the issue is disposed of; nor do we know whose daughter or sister or wife shall be the next. Yes, Lincoln, who by the mighty stroke of the pen did so much, did among other things declare medicine contraband of war—did suspend the Habeas Corpus law under constitutional form of government—did disband and imprison State Legislatures so as to prevent secession with a view to drafting the men—did burn and pillage the South at least by consent. If Lincoln was sent of God as the Yankees say, it was to prove by test the inefficacy of One Man Rule, as against established rights of the States. McKinley, too, was

popular, a far better man, but he lacked judgment so far as to promote the tariff as a principal a thorough trial of which has settled for all times, we hope, the injustice of the scheme.

Search Lincoln's record as a politician, and you will find him first a Whig, then both Whig and Republican, then Republican. The moral stories in the Northern periodicals every time his birthday comes round do not comport with his crooked politics. His famous "Charity to all and malice toward none" is the motto of every politician. The art of politics is to say "Good Lord—Good Devil." Which Lincoln could this have been? Did he not say "We will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer?" The line of vandalism.

If Lincoln deserves so much praise for liberating the negro why not give the South credit for attempting the same thing in 1787. The South was working at the problem and would have solved it in a more satisfactory way but for the meddling of the North. This was a scheme adopted to get the President.

Have you read Herndon's Life of Lincoln? Herndon was Lincoln's law partner and must have been a most accurate biographer in consequence. He makes Lincoln an infidel as he narrates his life from boyhood. The Lincoln family bought up the whole edition known of excepting one, and burned them. Miss Tarbell's fictitious writings, though, of Lincoln's life, have been boosted in the magazines because she colors everything brighter for Lincoln. Such writers delight in saying the South fought for the right as they saw it, instead of for what they knew to be right.

The North has fallen in with his irreligious ideas, and pantheists, agnostics. and unitarians are the ruling doctrines there now. Upon good authority it is said that not a minister of the gospel supported Lincoln in his own state at his election. Lincoln's later concern for the Union as expressed and his troubled look in consequence of the war, as held by some, was caused by his having done so much to sever the Union, and a remorseful consciousness of the failure to submit to the constitution. Lincoln said in one of his speeches that he wanted to save the Union, and did not care about slavery.

What did he wish to save the Union from, itself, or those who made it and to whom it belonged? He could have saved the Union by saving the war but he didn't. He wished to save it by forcing others to act differently from their convictions of right. If he had been interested in the Union more than his party he would not have refused the legislature of Virginia to assemble after the war was over.

But his actions proved that he wanted to make a Union and not save one. The whole object was to place the rights of states in the dominion of Federal power.

Lincoln's prayer at Gettysburg, announced by himself, and advertised after a century to prove him a praying man, is in striking contrast with Lee's unuttered prayer in his humane order to Ewell not to push the fight more than he could help.

Ewell's obedience to Lee's order was the sole cause of Hancock getting those positions after the first day's fight.

If Lincoln was successful at Gettysburg as said because he

promised to stand by the Lord, then he must have been unsuccessful at Ford's because he did not keep his promise.

For proof that Abram Enloe was Lincoln's father, and Nancy Hanchs his mother, see James H. Cathey's Genesis of Lincoln," and the court record at Hardy county, Kentucky, where Tom Lincoln was twice married. Cathey is a Republican and admirer of Lincoln and does not add that one of the Enloes married a negro, now at Asheville.

The writer candidly admits that he never saw Lincoln—only knows him through his biography—neither does he hold Lincoln culpable for the misfortune of his birth. But why the evasion of facts concerning him? Are truth and righteousness to be second to genealogy of individuals in our literature? Can a Christian nation afford to perpetuate deception in the minds of the young people?

This is further related of Lincoln, upon which I make no criticisms here. Let time settle all these things. No sooner was Richmond evacuated than Mr. Lincoln paid it a visit. After gratifying his curiosity a few hours in the deserted residence of Davis, he went back to Washington. In Richmond he had a conference with Judge John Campbell in regard to the restoration of Virginia to the Union. In this interview with Campbell he agreed to allow Virginia to meet in Legislature, and arranged to this end, giving orders to General Weitzel to allow the members to come to Richmond upon the terms that he would restore the Union. But on the evening of the 12th of April all were startled with the news that Lincoln had refused

to allow the Legislature to meet, and had countermanded the order to General Weitzel. This would have reduced her to the condition of a common province of the Federal Government. This was his last order. That very night he was shot at the Opera House while the whole nation should have been in tears. It was said that one Wilkes Booth, committed the assassination and was later caught and killed in a barn in Virginia. This was a crippled soldier who fought to the end.

Lately the facts have come to light that Booth was not captured at all, but recently died and was identified by his brother. No one was ever heard of getting the reward for the capture of Booth, which goes to confirm this fact. A book entitled "The Real Assassination of Lincoln," gives all the facts and dates to prove that Booth was not caught. For two weeks, be it remembered, the real actions in the tragedy were veiled in mystery. The same night Seward was so badly stabbed in his bed as to barely escape with his life.

Four persons were hanged for the offense with only twenty-four hours given them for preparation to die. Talk about lynch law. Mrs. Surratt was the only woman hanged but several were imprisoned. Attempts were made to implicate Davis. Also in the case of Wirz of Andersonville Prison. The reputed cruelties at Andersonville were the result of violations of discipline. Many escaped because so few guards were retained from the field when they were so badly needed. Rigid rules had to be enforced. Men going beyond given lines had to be shot.

Prisoners got the same in quantity and quality as their own

men. Statistics show that more prisoners died in Northern prisons than in Southern.

(What revengeful sentiments have been kept up in the literature of the land. Such as that the load on Lincoln caused the deep lines in his face. In what respect does a free government differ from a Monarchy, if this could be the case? There are those who knew Lincoln before the war, who say the lines were there long before he was President.)

The most singular part of all connected with this affair is that no coroner's inquest was ever held on Lincoln's body; no legal evidence taken as to the manner of his death; not a single person ever brought into a court of law as evidence, nor a single person testifying to his death, the cause of it, or the perpetrator of it. It was said that the skull of the victim of Lincoln's death was placed in a museum; his heart preserved in spirits, and his body sent no one knows where.

You will notice that when John Brown was executed, after a fair trial, for treason and murder with the pretended consent of the North, his body was put in a coffin decently and handed over to his friends. Yet the slavery section of this country was said to be semi savage. This very plainly illustrates the spirit of the two sections of this country.

We have only such evidence of the whole affair connected with the assassination of Lincoln as was furnished the public by a military tribunal, which was managed in such a one sided way that Reverdy Johnson, counsel for one of the prisoners, left

in disgust; as all just rules of evidence were set aside and respectable lawyers insulted by brutal military officers.

What has been written upon this subject has not been done with any intention of reviving ill feelings, which ought to be forgotten after so long a time, but with a view of setting forth the real facts, as against the prevalent mode of portraying something for popularity, without regard to exact truth; that our children may learn to know both sides of a question that has not been really settled, and which according to some of our Northern prophets, will never be settled by the people. If what I write appears strong in sentiment, remember it is only a defence against the vile interpretation of the other side so long ago, and so boastfully written. Surely after 40 years one is not considered quarrelsome to reply in no uncertain manner.

There is so much ignorance in the country to-day with regard to the difficulties of our free institutions, incited by prejudice, which, it seems will never cease, that I think it high time for some attempts at correction and justification towards those who have borne, with almost superhuman heroism, such an affliction as has passed over them.

After a few more evidences of truth, which I cannot refrain from enumerating, I shall be ready to show that afflictions are for good, and that the Lord chasteneth whom He loveth.

It wouldn't do for Providence to always favor those who were right and had done well, else the matter of policy would be sought instead of a principle, and hence, the test of character and merit would not be effected. Evil agencies are often em-

ployed for good. You recall the successes of wicked warriors, and the approval of the harlots in scripture, who entertained the spies.

Yes, everybody would do the thing they should if it brought them their desire at once. In consequence, men say things happen, but of one thing we are assured, that all will eventually work out for the best to those who are honest. "God's judgments are not always speedily executed," because of which men are ready to pass judgment themselves.

Men are prone to say that those things which favor them are providential occurrences, and things contrary to their wishes are accidental. There are always those ready to ejaculate, "I told you so!" You are too young to remember, but to the writer it seems a very short time ago that the newspapers and public speakers were rubbing their hands and shouting thanks for the success of the Federalists, by direct order of Providence, when like a pall the words in the same mouths were changed to "the great misfortune" which had overcome the country in the death of Abraham Lincoln. (What is there that will make men more inconsistent than prejudice and ill will? What saith the Scriptures of him who taketh the sword? If some of our ministers at this late day can excuse Lincoln from membership in that he was so broadminded, can it not be seen that the excitement of the times placed him above his deserts? A certain writer in defending him as an author says most of his writings were too indecent for publication. The reason they were not published.)

Is it not a fact that the party in power has been having

misfortune ever since? Johnson's succession to the Presidency was a great calamity upon it; so much so that it attempted to impeach him. By this event, be its ordering as it may, the Southern States again began to hold their rights, as promised to them at the surrender, and as they insisted upon having at the time of the attempt to destroy State Rights. State Rights was the law of our fathers and each respective resident was ordered to obey by Lee and Grant. A more plebeian couple could not have been gotten than Lincoln and Johnson.

Again, the Republicans were unfortunate in not being able to establish negro supremacy in the South, and have so closely been put to, that they have been uneasy with a large majority of territory. Yes, they were even outdone at the elections of Tilden and Cleveland.

How often have they had to change their tactics to delude the people with the tariff and currency. A dozen different phases have been assumed. They are now confronted with the dilemma of settling the race question and labor troubles. They are passing the ordeal of seeing their own boasted section retrograding in morals, religion, influence, and everything worthy of the name of quality, and to them the no less humiliating fact of the South's peerless advancement, despite the fact that the negro has been left a dead elephant upon its hands.

Almost every one interested in the slave question has ventured a guess at the result of giving the negro his franchise, so I will at least hazard a prophecy after so long a time as forty years. I am only as capable as any other Southerner of giving

a valid opinion as to the future chances and resources of the South, but certainly more so than a Northerner, who seems bewildered in the maze of exaggerated reports, direct contradictions and conflicting statistics.

You know full well how thoroughly convinced was the South of the inexpediency of the undertaking, by their determination to hold out to the last bit of cornbread. But as to actual loss or gain to the South itself, perhaps no one busied his brain. Wiser heads than ours have puzzled over this grave question until they became lost in self-contradictory results. No one who has read the history of the West Indian Colonies has ever believed that the negro can be depended upon as a laborer for hire, with the exception of a very few of the older ones. In all ages this has been an apparent political necessity, on moral grounds, but whether this is a dilemma of greater proportions than its counter consequences, no Northern man is able to decide.

The two darkest points of the whole matter in hand are: First, the complication of shame and sin arising from the mixture of the races. Secondly, the separation of husband and wife from each other and their families. The occurrence of the latter evil I am sure had grown almost exceptional, as civilization advanced; indeed some States had already passed laws prohibiting this.

The selling of husband or wife separately was almost exclusively as a punishment of the worst crimes save at bankrupt sales; for the like of which they are now strung up by the neck. I am safe in saying that the separation of husbands from their

families at the time of their emancipation, induced by the giddy ideas held up to them by the abolitionists, and freedom from their cumbersome wives and little ones, was ten-fold more frequent than their separations by sale ever had been. The subject is not a pleasant one to dwell upon as to the former evil.

There is certainly a repugnance existing between the Anglo-Saxon and the African blood. Some of our scientific philosophers who have written volumes to prove that there is no difference between the races, should lead off and elevate the much injured race, by taking to wife one of Africa's sable daughters. The very opposite has been satisfactorily proven, viz.: that the negro is decidely a distinct race, physically and mentally, as any one skilled in anatomy must know. After so long a time the fanaticism of the North must be blind indeed, if not taught by recent events, in almost every State, a doubt of the tender mercies of the abolitionists being so tender after all. Has it ever been recorded in the libraries of New York and Boston why all offices in the Capitol of the United States are filled by appointment? This was inaugurated simply to avoid the negro vote which the amendments to the constitution have forced upon the States. What a figure the 75,000 negroes there would cut in an election. Why should he not have the equal right in filling the offices in the District of Columbia as well as in the States? Some day the negro may demand this.

The laws prohibited the imprisonment of a slave, so he had to be sold with the stigma of a crime upon him for what he would bring. The Constitution had provided for the protection

of the negro in slavery, but not as a freeman and citizen with equality. To turn him loose without citizenship was to give him no protection under the law. Lincoln's proclamation was simply to rob the negro of protection. Why was not an amendment to the constitution the first consideration instead of the last, since it was so necessary a condition? The North wished to carry out its plans and then stretch the Constitution to suit the result. Samuel McCauley, of Washington County, Md., had to sell the best slave he had because he nearly killed some other negro in Hagerstown who had robbed him at cards of his $10.00, which Mr. McCauley gave each one after harvest always. Mr. McCauley cried like a child in consequence. He was offered $17,000 for seventeen negroes, little and big, but he said it would not buy any one of them.

Does any one think at present that the negro in the North will ever rise higher than the Chinaman and Japanese in California? A scintilla of Civil Rights is the utmost he can claim; and is that, of all things, which he cannot enjoy or appreciate. No! Legislation was the thing needed to correct the evil of slavery, but this was the thing avoided.

The Patriarchal system of slavery is infinitely better than that of the coolies. The horrors of the waste of life in the Chincha Islands have never been matched in Kentucky or Louisiana. All the cruelties practised in the South in a whole year are outdone in a day by the coast trade. The brutalities upon apprentices and seamen, white and black, in the merchant service are unutterable. Many lives are a perfect banishment,

with only enough of food to keep them alive. The rations, the care and attention bestowed upon the slaves of the South has never been equaled in the case of any peasantry of the world. The aged and infirm were cared for as their master's families. There was no child labor there, as now in this section.

O, the kindness of these tender hearted people of the Old South. We rejoice exceedingly with them in their recovery from the abuses and libels inflicted. Truly the Southern people have won the admiration of the world by keeping their mouths shut and being patient. Oh, that they may still be able to keep their heads and wait for the retribution in full which shall be an added honor to them.

Ask the old negroes whether they ever pined for freedom. Novelty enticed some, but ask of the border States what about the droves and droves of negroes after the war returning to old Massa, having been driven or coaxed by some deception from their homes in the South by Sherman. It was pitiable, though laughable, to hear them crying, "I ain't gwine to stay 'long wid dem nasty, dirty free niggers, 'deed I ain't."

What has turned the negro, who originally was quiet and childish, mirthful and affectionate, into the sullen and insolent savage that he is; remembering the past as a sort of excuse for a retaliation and the exercise of his brutal propensities, imagining every man's hand against him. It seems hard to speak the truth, that they were much better off in slavery. I defy any one to show a single criminal assault upon a white woman by a negro before the emancipation of the negro.

For the sake of Christian charity, and the love of our wives and sisters, it must be asserted that probabilities suggest that a more successful means of dealing with the negro will be demanded. God, in His own good time, will settle the whole matter. To us it is an anomaly. The Southern people are as confident of the justice of their claims as ever; and no one can be found who is ashamed of the part he took in the strife. The only regrets are found among those who were too young to aid in the conflict.

A fond mother in Virginia upon receiving consolations from Jackson after losing two sons, replied, "Oh, that's all right General; we love them and miss them mightily, but another one will soon be old enough for the service in the cause." Let me mention here that upon a certain occasion Jackson's pastor received a letter from him when all were expecting to hear the result of a great battle. The pastor was sent for to read his letter at the post office for the benefit of all. To the surprise of all it read, "My dear Pastor, I'm reminded that this is our foreign missionary day—enclosed I send my contribution." Today the army of the U. S. is compelled to study Jackson's Military Tactics as its text-book. It was predicted that Jackson and Lee would not be heard of after the war.

What of all the wild predictions of the fanatics of the North concerning the advancement of the negro after a chance was given him? Such as that the negro was destined to be, "The Church of Christ," quoting from Solomon where the bride professes herself "black but comely."

A. M. Gilbert, speaking of the effect of the proclamation in the South, said: I affirm that it would be better that every woman and child in the South should perish than that the principles of the Confederate statesmen should prevail." Later we shall see how nearly their principles have prevailed. This was said in the presence of a vast assembly, and not a man there, for the love of wife or mother, ventured to slap his mouth, but cheered him to the echo.

The emancipation proclamation did the South no harm in comparison with the infamy and malice aimed at them long years before the war began. For years beforehand, in the border States, men had provided for a disunion of some kind. It was the same old infallible rule over, whenever one section became jealous of the other, or desired to tyrannize. Everybody knew in Colonial times that the South was too smart for the North, yet they never practiced scheming or unfairness. Four of the first five Presidents were Virginians.

The North could not endure the honors of "The Sword, the Pen, the Tongue" being ascribed to the Southern people, though their ambitions ran in the direction of grabbing and hoarding, rather than in excellence. The ever greedy and covetous spirit amassed great fortunes for them, and they did not shirk to use all sorts of strategy and ingenuity to effect this end, which was beneath the gentlemen of the South.

After eighty years of success by their opponents they grew madly envious. The many early tariff disputes and falsified compromises were only specious pretexts for antagonism. The

Republican party undertook to put down all opposition with a high-hand, which in itself was most conflicting with State Rights, of which true hearted Americans were as proud as of the Union itself.

I believe the result has been a more complete victory to the South than a more successful clash of arms could have achieved. Others than the Southern people may yet realize the bitter absence of confidence and kindness. No administration can be other than unsound to the core, where no mutual good-will exists. It was predicted, by great thinkers, that nothing short of standing armies would keep the South in the Union; not only on social and political grounds of antagonism, but because the contest was waged after a fashion unknown to the world of civilization. They misunderstood the South as much as the instigators of the war and those who accused her of rebellion against the Union.

One is made to wonder how the Southern people could so readily overlook the meanness of those arrayed against them. I do not speak of open warfare, or stricken fields, or fruitless slaughter, but of bitter blows by the ways such as humanity can not easily forget or forgive, and of passions roused such as rankle for generations after.

See who they are who threaten to quell the insurrection with the strong hand. An unreasonable multitude which can hardly be looked upon as a nation, for it mingles all the blood of Western Europe, doggedly pursuing, yet strangely apathetic when a crisis is imminent; easily discouraged, prone to distrust, divided

by political jealousies, possessed of a commercial calculation and peculiarly open to the temptations of the almighty dollar. These men are fighting for a positive gain.

On the other side see a real distinct nation numerically small, in whose veins the Anglo-Saxon blood flows almost untainted. Rich men casting down their gold, strong men casting down lives as if both were dross, in the cause they have sworn to win.

See white men enduring hardships that slaves would have raged at, without a whispered murmur. Hear gentle and tender women echo in simple earnestness the words which only a Southern lady can utter, "I hope my boys may die in the front and be buried in the plantation before there is peace on any other terms than our own rights." Reverses seem only to drive them on and intensify their resistance. Only for liberty which they know to be right by birth are they fighting. It is plainly discernable today that the South did not fight in vain, when one reads of the dissatisfaction along the Pacific coast. With Roosevelt's big stick ideas he went to his knees in pleading with California and Nevada to yield their constitutional rights for sake of expediency.

These Southern people have always had the utmost confidence in the reward of justice.

Who is there that does not rejoice with them today that their once bloody valleys are again prolific and their beautiful hills dotted with new and prosperous cities and towns, and their fine natural resorts so well patronized? For them the sun is

shining, which was for a time behind the clouds. Do we hear of their being disturbed any more? Are they not quietly under their own vine and fig tree as per agreement with Grant?

What of the negro as to equality?

Go South and see the separate cars for blacks; no interference by the government in the state where cases of peonage are reported. Without an exception these cases have been dealt with as they deserved. The intense sympathies of the North, as manifested by the war, have never developed a need of same in the great South-land. Strange, indeed, that such a charge should have been raised against a people almost incapable of cruelty. Inequality is charged as injustice, but why should it be any more cruel to make the negroes ride in their cars, than the white people in theirs? Let it be answered, why it is unjust in the one case and not in the other.

What has become of the tender mercies of the North that the thunders of labor are unnoticed?

After all, the North has always had slavery, worse in its proportions than the South has had. I remember hearing the report of one of our old substantial citizens, after returning from a trip to Massachusetts and Connecticut. This gentleman was looking through some of the factories up there with one of the managers, when dinner hour was announced, and all hands stopped for dinner. The manager said to the Marylander, Mr. Andrew Rentch, "Well, we will go to dinner!" and took a different direction from the laborers. Mr. Rentch remarked, "why what of the men?" "O," said the manager, "they do not eat

with us; we could not manage them if we boarded them in our house. They eat over there in the shanty!" "O, I see," said Mr. Rentch, "you have white slaves and we have black ones, and yours are the more servile, for we do let them eat out of the same pot, and you don't!"

Some of the Northern people really didn't think, at the time of the war, that a Southern slave-holder was altogether human, but conceived him to be some sort of a cross-breed, unknown elsewhere in the world.

I remember an amusing incident which occurred after the battle of Antietam, at Bakersville, in the home of Dr. Grimes, the old family physician of that section. There was a wounded officer taken in by the Doctor and administered to, when his wife came on after hearing of his condition, to see him and take him home. They were from New Hampshire, I think.

Before leaving, the lady remarked to the Doctor that while here she wished to see three things, a slave, a slave-holder, and a slave's house or quarter. The Doctor said, "Well, madam, we can accommodate you right here!"

They walked out on the porch, and the first person they saw was old Uncle Jake going by the gate on horse-back. The Doctor called to him to come there, when he rode up the lane to them. "Where are you going Uncle?" asked the Doctor. Uncle Jake replied that he ought not ask him such hard questions: he was only going down to Nancy Bowers' to get himself a drink, as he didn't feel so good. Nancy Bowers kept a saloon

a couple of miles down the road along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal.

"Now, madam," said the Doctor, "there is a slave!"

"Oh, nonsense, Doctor I am not for a joke now. I am in earnest!"

"Well," said the Doctor, "that man belongs to me! So here you have a slave-holder!"

The Doctor could not convince her until they went out to the quarters, and saw more darkies lying about and helping at the work as they were disposed.

This lady felt herself a rebel, to be convinced that she and hers were interested in a war against a system so far ahead of their own home-land in sympathy with labor.

It may seem strange to you, my friend, to hear a truth so different from what you have been taught, but in all candor, I hesitate not, after a thorough consideration of the matter, to make the bold, though self-evident assertion, that the North rebelled, and not the South, and have fully substantiated the same by showing that the South stood firm to their agreement as sworn to.

And, again, I take the liberty to put the test of sincerity and ask for any statement of apparent fairness showing any treasonous or untrue actions in the Southern States with regard to the point in question. I challenge the equality of the religious character of the leaders of the Confederacy in any war known in history. Lee's acceptance, as commander, was as follows: "Trusting in Almighty God, with an approving conscience,

and by the aid of those whose interests are akin, I consecrate my powers to the service of my State." This great man's birth was almost a miracle. After his mother had been seemingly dead and placed in the family vault, she came to life, as was discovered by the keeper. One year after her restoration, Robert E. Lee, her youngest son, was born.

Are these people not worthy of such great credit as has been ascribed to them for their endurance under provocation? What would the North be today had there been since the war but one party instead of the ceaseless vigilance of an opposition? The Republicans have made it impossible to even hope for two parties in the South. There are so many negroes in some States that it is all they, the whites, can do when united to predominate. It only remains for a Republican to go South to have his eyes opened and to determine his course in politics, I care not how bitter he has been.

The experience of an old veteran of the South, given in simplicity and sincerity so peculiar to them, will convince any one, at least of the honesty of the convictions of the people.

To first go and enjoy their proffered hospitality is in itself a volume of satisfaction. To give an idea of the difference in this respect of the people in the border states, the one, as against the other, will give some experience actually realized while canvassing the territory. In states north of the line you will be met at the door rather reluctantly, and if near meal time there will be the greatest care that the sound of dishes is not heard lest you are supposed to be induced to tarry longer

than you otherwise would. Every one is suspicioned as ready to accept a meal gratis. In Maryland you will notice the shade of improvement toward respectable hospitality, when you will be asked whether you have been to dinner, and if not and you are inclined to accept, whether for remuneration or otherwise, you will be invited to remain and join the family, and mostly feel welcome. In Virginia you will not be given a chance to get away until you have seen the family, and should the family be through with their meal you will shortly be informed that your dinner awaits you without even asking you whether you have had dinner. You cannot help seeing the real delight of being able to prevail upon your remaining with them for even a longer time.

It has often occurred to the writer of these lines that perhaps the real object of the cruel war was to neutralize the extremes of this great country and produce a happy means between the two. The South most assuredly had come to make too much of this life, and were too listless with regard to ambition and success in business, thus losing much that their intelligence might produce for those that were incapable of making the earth bring forth two ears where only one existed before.

How little this savors of evil as compared with the gross and flagrant expositions of decided crime in scheming and conspiring to grind the last farthing out of the consumer. Ask the commercial travelers of to-day who see the people.

No man is so hard and harsh as to lack appreciation of this subtle and felicitous influence South. Dare we ever look for a

happy union of Vulcan and Venus in the future of our Nation? Then indeed shall the war not have been in vain.

But what of the cost of such a union?

The North must yet be suppressed, and again recover, if it is to fill its part of such mission. Already the North has had her day. The very means filched from the South at time of war, the impositions of monstrous tariffs in favor of their section, and the enormous appropriations, and the thousands of office holders, with the ever vigilant and greedy spirit which for a time made the North gloat with prosperity, has been made to develop and expand the South by building railroads and booming cities and making cheap homes for the natives of the South. Innumerable cases can be given where men invested their all from the North, borrowing all they could get from friends, and left it all in some relaxing city, giving those of little means opportunity to purchase depreciated homes at their own price.

Careful statistics show that on an average in New England there is but one church in every sixteen square miles. Many churches are abandoned every year, and lots of factories are yielding to the more favorable locations of the South, since electricity has supplanted water power.

Great indeed shall be the humiliation of the North when it realizes that a nation exalting itself shall be abased. The appearances are of a tendency toward the end already, as I view affairs. The idea of Monarchy and Imperialism have been sifted and examined and have been proven inadequate, which never could have occurred had the South gained the war.

Hence if one is allowed so much idealism all has been for the best. If the South had liberated the slaves which would have been done in a few years, there would be no outlet for the negro today, and he would be a burden upon the South indeed.

The Northern Cities are being flooded with them now, and the amendments forbid opposing his going there.

Again Davis having been of such high ideas and dignified bearing, as the result of the success of the South, it might have lost much of its sweetness in an aristocracy. Moses you know was not allowed to go into the promised land, but another took up his work and completed it. I have above referred to a similar case in the history of our independence. No one man has ever been allowed to champion a great cause alone. Principles never die, though they are often slow in maturing. Our Saviour himself had to die that greater works might be done by his followers.

When the compromise was made between Lee and Grant at the end of the strife, though the Republicans howled for a time, until Grant declared he would resign unless his terms were granted, all should have accepted it as the most favorable termination possible. The reconstruction period was intended to make the laws so obnoxious to the South that they could not bear them when military force was used to carry the object. The South has won the admiration of the world by enduring these hardships.

Let no one criticize the end until the end be present. But let us not allow injustice and unfairness to exist with a high

hand and thus encourage evil. Let us labor to hasten a reconciliation, which is contingent upon a thorough understanding.

The South is now safe. The sinew and muscle of her young men are being developed in proportion to their heart and head.

Truly it is the better part of wisdom to accept Providential orderings, different from our choosing, when they come. The bitter hull may have the sweetest kernel.

Human nature is the same all the world over, to a degree at least. How hard a thing it must have been for the South to be on the eve of despair, when she knew she was right, and no one attempting to disprove her position No wonder Lee so willingly accepted such terms, as gave back to the South all that caused her to fight, and as Grant allowed her to dictate.

The newspapers falsified the conditions of the surrender, or compromise, no less than all the important events of the abolitionist's reign. Grant never said he demanded unconditional surrender. That was the voice of the hot heads who never fought any, and didn't know with what tenacity the Confederates stuck to their birth rights, and what a hot time they had been making for the Yankee masses.

As said before, Grant sought Lee and asked him to surrender, when Lee inquired what conditions he had to offer, and when such terms were offered as given above, and as were accepted. Otherwise Lee and his little army would have fought to the last man.

But to hasten on; how distressing to see in the North and West, the mixture of the races, and the decrease of negroes

despite the constant influx from the South. You will find many mulattoes throughout the South too, but inquire the age of nearly all of them and see whether they were not born in the 60's; and, if so, where will you locate their parentage?

How deeply mysterious are the many avenues into which one is led when sitting down to reflect upon the whole matter of negro franchise. One would suppose that after forty years some one should have cornered the conundrum and satisfactorily disposed of the old thing. But, alas! after all, what has been gained by the war for the negro, as distinct from the white race; or rather what was lost?

No fuller expression could possibly be given to the world with regard to the physical and constitutional relationship of the two races.

Do you perceive any social recognition existing lately as over against the era, prior to the war?

Do white folk eat, sleep, drink and associate with the negroes without distinction?

If not, why not?

Is it not in the line of duty, or is the North in any way justified in scorning the negro because it favored his franchise?

A secret order represented in almost all of the States decided to hold a convention in the far South. Some of the men of the far North said they did not like to go South to see the cruel treatment of the poor negroes, but were finally prevailed upon to go, and when they came among the negroes they began to take hasty sniffs of the redolent atmosphere adjacent and

pronounced it rather obnoxious. Do they all have that odor, said they to their comrades? then we don't care for any more of their company, if you please.

For fear you will accuse me of criticising, I will not charge the North with hypocrisy, but allow you to draw conclusions.

Do you hear of respectable people marrying their sons to African daughters?

Let God in His wisdom settle all this, but let us, above all things, be sincere.

Is it not natural and scriptural too, that as we shall reap we sow?

Shall we wait longer for some of the merciful brethren of the North to come out squarely and start off with honest purpose and take to wife a colored mate. I mean some man of distinction. Then may the Lord have mercy upon the cowardly advocates of equality, and of duty toward those who are inferior, simply because they have been given no chance.

Who is to give them a chance? I notice those very tender hearted people do not patronize a negro barber if a white one is to be had.

Why are the Yankees so rank for equality for the negro civilly, and not socially, as facts prove. Is not the negro just a little inferior after all and all, bro' Republican?

I remember being in an argument with a friend upon the subject of negro equality, and as a real test I asked him whether he would allow his daughter to marry a negro? He replied that if she choose to he should not object, but added, that she

would not choose to. Then, said I, why will she not choose to do a thing so consistent? Perhaps after another forty years he shall be able to reply. If there appears to the reader any uncharitableness in this statement, be it remembered that to simply differ is not criminal, if honestly done. I for one am proud of my convictions.

The object of law, either regular or lynch-law, is not to punish criminals but to prevent crime. Roosevelt recommends lynch-law for horse stealing; this may be too strong, but of one thing we are certain, that the more horrible the penalty the less frequent the crime. So that if the Southern people love their families and regard chastity, they cannot ignore the most violent means of punishing those who commit criminal assault. How many lives are made miserable by the dread of such possibility.

I have often bothered no little to contrive why the Northern people are so set upon elevating the negro in the South, whilst they will not contribute a nickel toward the relief of the millions in Africa. Is it not unadulterated prejudice to which they hold so persistently? Race hatred is hurled at the South for honestly stating that they cannot sink to the level of the negro, and for dealing so harshly with the brutish criminals as to lynch them. The distinction is race favor, and not race hatred. If the white people are to be supreme in the land, the negro must be subordinated, which is for his ultimate good.

Let not the North be upbraided if she has done well, and let not the South be blessed if she has done wrong.

If the South opposed the franchise of the negro and the North favored it, and it has been well done, then surely let the North have the credit for such beneficence toward the South and the negro. But if perchance it should turn out that the negro has not been benefited, and the North has not proven herself sincere and wise in practicing her doctrine, what shape must her dogma assume?

Behold those who have left the North for Southern homes have abandoned their first love. Surely this has not come about by teaching and preaching of the South. No language has power like patience and endurance.

Is it not a marvel that the South allowed the North to come into her midst and take up habitation with her when all is considered relative to the cause and progress of the war.

But nothing has done more to convince the world of the magnanimity of the Southern people, and give them power to keep above the rising millions of negroes, and to convert the Northern population, than the unanimous respect for clean and wise State laws throughout the South.

These converts from the North are the men who lead the mobs in defence of the laws, for the most part, but not in defiance of laws, as preached in the North. These mobs are moved by the purest motives that have ever stirred men's bosoms. Be it said in defence of the lynchings in the South, that they have not a different object in view from the regular law, but the same. Yet we hear of no remonstrance from the North, as to the evil demanding such measures of violence. Sympathy for the vic-

tims of these brutes is never once mentioned. The guilty upheld, and the innocent ignored. The equality of the negro here is an abnormal condition brought about by a political mob, producing a case which can only be met by a mob. The subject of a lynching is treated like a mad dog or a viper snake, because chances of his escape and further damage cannot be risked in view of its enormity. It is love and sympathy that expresses itself in such drastic measures under the conditions, and not race hatred as is charged. It is not the victim in revenge against the outlaw but those who love the unfortunate. Love is a justifiable motive for almost anything. The law cannot express sympathy. Better that one negro suffer innocently than a thousand women. Shame on the man who says he could tolerate lynch law for horse stealing but not for anything else.

Negroes do not read court proceedings. They can only be taught the lesson by sight, that summary death shall be dealt to him who commits a criminal assault upon a white woman.

Let him who does not love his wife or sister or mother oppose the most effectual method of teaching this fact to the negro.

Thus the thing shall continue until the order is reversed as taught by abolitionism, viz.: That better should every woman and child of the South be slain, than that the negroes should be urged to work for their living and care, and cleanliness, instead of eating one meal a day and raiding upon hen roosts at night.

The North with all of its boasting with regard to economy of tactics, has been most abusive of its laws, in allowing forty

years to pass without an acknowledgment of a single identification of the race. O, what a waste. In plain view of all honesty. It evidently becomes some brotherly section, or nation, to enforce the duty upon the North, of managing and amalgamating the races there. The last condition of the negro is most certainly worse than the first, so to where will they shift the blame?

But one grows sick of enumerating the atrocities practiced by this Republican party, which can only claim any credit at all, for what it has been driven to do by the close tread of Democracy upon its heels. Reforms are never offered excepting when the chances of the party are doubtful.

The Republicans do not in reality claim to have gained anything by the war. As shown, they are no nearer to the negro than before, and as to consolidation and Imperialism, and radicalism, their attempts are as vigorous, and as frequent as ever.

In the conservative old State from which I write, at the Antietam Cemetery, Sharpsburg, Md., was practiced the most bitter and unjust measure yet recorded along this line. I knew Lewis P. Fiery personally, who framed and offered the bill in the Legislature for an appropriation for a cemetery on Antietam battlefield, being prompted by seeing dead men's bones along the pike as he passed. He told me that he explicity set forth in the bill, which passed, that it should be for Northern and Southern soldiers alike.

The rebels, as they were called, were not allowed to be buried there, and the few which had been placed there had to

be removed, and an extra appropriation made later for a section in Rose Hill, at Hagerstown, of $5,000. Right stiff for a State which never seceded? But force bills, protection to campaign leaders in various mercantile business, etc., have been rife

Only the qualifying effect of the conservative men have brought us on thus far. How often one hears the expression, "He died for his country"—implying that his opponents died to destroy it.

There are, after forty years, some men who, through ignorance or prejudice, believe that the South was untrue and really meant to destroy the Government. Can not those who have waited so long, wait longer to see the end of all this? Courage is not quarrelsome, let us hold on to our convictions, as did our fathers. Calhoun lay down and calmly died after he had uttered the most significant words that ever escaped the lips of any advisor: "The Constitution shall needs be amended when the negro has his franchise."

Why did the Republicans demand of the Southerners an oath of allegiance when they had just declared that a higher law than the Constitution, the embodiment of their oaths, should govern their actions?

What a fake; for only toward the end of frightening the South to servitude was this set up. A higher law than one's oath and one's honor? One might violate his oath with regard to his own affairs and repent of his folly, but not concerning his neighbor without making amends.

What of our chief executive today, whose lieutenants pub-

licly say that the exigencies of the times warrant the ignoring of the constitution. Why doesn't Roosevelt get busy and fine or arrest his Secretary Cortelyou, as well as Rockefeller. What credit is there due a "Trust Buster" when he supports a system which fosters trusts faster than they can be "Busted." Teddy thought to get the credit before Thomas Lawson could succeed, who exposed the great frauds in the country.

The charge against the South was violation of the principles of duty toward a general government limited and prescribed by sovereign powers, by those who scorned to recognize the sovereignty itself, to which they had sworn allegiance, upon the plea of a higher law.

How disgustingly weak is the language of some of the historians of the North. What evidences of bitterness emanate from such sentences as "The Union had better have been destroyed than that slavery should exist in the South."

The officers of the Federal army were always elated when at the surrender of a fort they could report having had the great enjoyment of destroying much of the property and goods before the enemy got it.

Let me mention the fact that the incident connecting Sheridan with a battle at Winchester, in which he is made to figure as "Little Phil, and the wonderful ride," is as much of a farce as Sampson's victory of Spanish-American fame. There are witnesses, whose word no one dares doubt, to testify that Sheridan was twenty miles away at the time.

The facts are that the Confederates drove the Yankees from

their entrenchments at day-break and, famished as they were, threw down their guns to appropriate the Yankees' breakfast. In the meantime the Yankees seeing them disbanding, reorganized and surprised the Confederates while eating, and of course repulsed them while Sheridan was at Winchester.

If I have not called attention to the burning of Chambersburg by the Confederates, I shall now do so in justice to the occasion. This place was burned in retaliation for a gentleman's home in Virginia, near Charlestown, the victim of which crime was an enemy of a brother of General Thomas, of the Federal Army. The inference may easily be drawn as to who was the destroyer of this property. No excuse was ever given for this inhuman offense. Early, a cavalry raider, did the work of burning Chambersburg, and demanded a ransom at Frederick and Hagerstown—and had Davis or Lee known it in time it would not have happened, as they both said. McCausland's command did the burning.

Have you observed how closely related are the cause, progress, and result of the war?

Pardon the seeming reflection upon common intelligence in thus putting it interrogatively. In a nut shell we have it proven by the latter of these stages that it was all an aim at Democracy, which had held sway over the country for nearly eighty years.

I wish to make account of the war as its silver lining appears. The old bulwark with her unaltered principles still

stands, and the Democracy is neither dead nor asleep as the energy of Republicanism will demonstrate.

Let me here predict, as my turn at guessing, that when Republicanism has only the name of an experiment to identify it, Democracy shall be young and in power.

Like the people who wanted a king, and Saul was given them, so were the Republicans allowed a trial of rule to their discomfiture, sooner or later.

Has it ever occurred to you, my friend, that we as a nation have since the war, in a sense, been under martial rule?

Have we not had soldier Presidents who knew but little, including their knowledge of fighting?

The aim of the Republican party has been to honor the heroes of the war, which undeserved escutcheon is applied to those who intrigued and plundered most, and appropriated the most prizes and rewards for debauchery and depredation. If such were heroes, who have only been successful in injuring our nation instead of benefiting it, as is evident on every hand now, surely he who by one fell stroke, delivered the whole nation from the jaws of tyranny and subjugation, thus conferring a universal blessing, deserves at the hands of those who are capable of appreciating such able and philanthropic service the sincerest and most partial gratitude and favor. I refer to the famous defeat of the Force Bill in the Senate of the United States by A. P. Gorman, of Maryland.

What we have escaped by such service, as just referred to, may be seen more fully by reflecting upon the reign of terror and

oppression in the South, backed up by the United States army for ten years after the civil war.

In some States every county in the State was under martial law; the enormity of which can scarcely be realized at this late day; the negroes, and the most incapable ones, being the court in most cases.

In North Carolina there existed, by executive appointment, over two hundred trial officers who could not read or write. Yes, North Carolina, the glorious old State that declared herself independent of Great Britain one year before the Convention adopted the same. (I refer to the Mecklenburg Declaration in 1775.) No citizen was safe from violence. No wonder many of the boys of the South left home and country for Canada and France and other countries, almost disgusted with existence.

At the close of the war the indebtedness of the seceded States was $87,000,000. During the ten years of negro rule it was increased by $30,000,000.

School funds were divided among the negro legislators; millions were issued in bonds to aid railroad corporations and not one foot was ever built. In two years not a public school was opened in the State, in some cases.

In Mississippi alone, six and a half million acres of land were confiscated, most of which was given to the negroes.

In 1877 Hayes withdrew the army, and negro government melted away, unsupported by the bayonet, at once. The dissatisfaction of the country, as evinced by the Tilden-Hayes election, demanded this. You see this was a greater calamity to the

South than the war. "But, all is well that ends well."

The negro is no more fit, after forty years, to cast his vote than then.

Only by this means could the North have gotten the confidence of the negro and induced him to leave his master at all.

But what of later, when it was found that the government did not intend to continue their support?

Then it was that the negro discovered his last condition to be worse than the first. Booker Washington admits that there was too much teaching the negroes to hate their masters.

What patience and perseverance it required to array only the younger negroes to betray their masters. Many pathetic accounts are given of the devotion and attachment of old negroes to their masters. Mr. Joseph Kausler, of Hagerstown, Md., tells of returning to his home in Tennessee, after an absence of eighteen years, whereupon an old "Auntie" of his father's household, and who later became his faithful servant, met him and threw her arms around his neck and kissed him.

Mr. Kausler knew that it was pure and clean, and could not resent it. Some lookers on mockingly asked, "How often has he whipped you, Auntie?"

"Whipped me! whipped me!" she said. "I whipped him many a time when he was bad, as his mother told me to do."

Secretary Root, in a speech in New York, admitted some years ago that the franchise of the negro was a failure, which the country has to face—the failure to teach them the competency to enjoy it.

Let it be known, as not existing in the Northern histories, that the Constitutional amendments, whereby the negro was allowed his political rights, were never passed by three-fourths majority as required by the Constitution. Military power did this also, and not regular adoption. Lately Florida has had the bravery to announce to the world that the franchise of the negro was a forced measure.

With all the pretended philanthropy of the North towards the negro is it not strange that there were never any attempts made to punish the cruelty to slaves so often referred to? Does not this fact itself cast very much doubt upon the matter? You know there are laws prohibiting cruelty to animals.

The franchise of the negro and the imposition upon society of the degradation of the race only remains as an ill to the South from the effects of the war. How shall it be met? May he who tempers the wind to the shorn lambs soon bring about some cause that will banish all danger of the horrors of the brutish passions of the unfettered wretches. Jefferson once said it would take but a few strokes of the pen for each state to liberate its slaves. "But what then," said he. We are having the what then now.

At present the brightest hope that illumes the future horizon is the sure and certain tendency of these lawless villains towards the homes of those who have all along cried morals and mercy. Yes, those who pretend to obey the promptings of humanity, without limitations, have no use for defensive law as they had no use for the Constitution. In what respect do such differ from

those who disregard the laws of Divine revelation, in scorning the obligations of the church and matrimony? Such things are only laws. Is one under greater obligation to keep his marriage vows? or to meet his note in Bank?

Alas! when the day of visitation comes upon the Northland of our once glorious country, and come it must. Many are viewing its time in the distance already, and attempting their escape.

What could more befittingly mock their calamities than is evinced at present, by living monuments in the persons of anti-corruption negroes lecturing them for bringing upon our brave and free land such an ordeal as was never desired nor asked for by the negro race.

Is the poor negro to be sacrificed for the salvation of our land by extermination?

By whom shall he have been betrayed and delivered?

When did interference with the negro's condition begin?

Only when the Northern slave-dealers could no longer sell the South negroes. When slave selling and buying were rapidly on the decrease in America, with a decided aim at total destruction.

How long did the war last which was waged for the negro as pretended?

Just the term of the Presidency.

Why did it not last longer?

It was not needed, as the President was elected for four years.

Why could the fanatics of the North not give such terms to the South as was allowed later?

It would not have effected the end desired, viz.: To secure the negro vote.

Have the Republicans then gained their object by the war —that of consolidation?

Alas for them, that Lincoln should have died.

Has not this very thing been their supreme effort ever since?

What of their success?

Consult the tactics of their platforms since in power.

Do you remember Tilden's election to the Presidency?

How vividly I recall an incident which occurred in Hagerstown, from which place I write, as the returns came in like a thunder shock to the Republicans. They were not in shape to accept the change, and they simply couldn't allow it.

I reckon the Republicans are about the same everywhere, so will only describe the temper of the party here in Hagerstown, Md., when the sudden news flashed upon them. The leaders of the party, including editors and managers of the county organ, banded together a lot of negroes with shot guns and revolvers, and staying far enough in the rear, charged them up Washington street from the Public Square, to rout the Democrats, who were still yelling like wild, some of said leaders just having received a serenade from the Democrats. This gang of negroes opened fire upon the exultant Democrats at the old Washington House (now Baldwin), but no sooner, however, did

this occur than the fire was returned by those who had revolvers with them, and by a charge of canes and fists which in a jiffy routed the negroes.

There were only three shot, I believe, two negroes and one white man, none seriously; but one was reminded of a lively skirmish for a few minutes. There were marks of shot and bullet in the house next day. But for the glare of the light from the hotel, as against the darkness where the negroes stood, it would have been a more disastrous termination to the negroes doubtless. The writer of this will never forget how near he came to shooting a Democrat just as he came into the light from across the alley. "My God, don't shoot any more here, you can't see which the negroes are," said he. "Better let them have the street than to shoot one Democrat." But the negroes were hopping back then and were soon out of sight. A friend and myself had to go nine miles into the country over the road by which the negroes came up, and only one revolver. Some of the citizens advised us of the danger of venturing out that night, but with revolver in hand and cocked we went, though only two chambers remained loaded after the skirmish, out of seven. We were not molested, nor even saw a negro on our way, and reached home at two o'clock. I remember ringing the farm bell furiously, waking up the family, including a Republican friend, who was on a visit at home, the only one who could not relish the sudden interruption any more than the announcement itself.

For two days the majorities went back, and behold Mr. Hayes was elected. This scare took the army out of the South,

anyway. The Governor of South Carolina, General Wade Hampton, was elected and they counted him out too, but he didn't stay out.

Now I fear I have tired your patience with what might have been said by an apter hand in a much shorter compass. But now, little remains to finish my purpose, yet all that has been said in the former sections only led to this last, and more significant part of my task.

The idealistic notions of the American people are as often upset as realized. We are prone to jump at conclusions. The sad and cruel war which passed over our beloved land because of unreasonable and envious men of might, has not been without its corresponding good. The Lord has made the wrath of man to praise Him.

The cause, so long termed the "Lost Cause," has in the course of events turned out to be loss and failure to the aggressors, admittedly.

What has the South gained?

Why, the power to disfranchise the negro again without consulting her former enemies.

What has the North lost?

Lost all it has attempted, but to impose a race of blacks upon society—not the government of the South.

What has the North done worthy of credit?

Only that which it had to do or die.

What has the South done?

With the existence of only one party, as above stated, she has improved almost incredibly and remained uncorrupted.

Stop, O, stop and think; in all reason what should be the condition of rule to-day in the North, had the Republican party been allowed uninterrupted control?

Where are honor, and truth, and sincerity, among them?

Sincerity! Does their relations to the poor negro show it?

An evidence of sincerity would be for the North to say to their dusky brethren of the South, come up here away from those cruel people, and we will love you back to your true position socially for we are all one blood. God did make all of one blood, and also made all good and after His image, but all did not remain so. Ham's posterity was certainly accursed. What a shameful pretense for the Northern people to insist upon crowding their children into schools with negroes, but refuse to share their church pews and their sitting rooms with the negroes. They say, however, that the negro is rapidly advancing. Does it mean that next year or year after all this will be allowed?

Sincerity! Then let them make some attempt to prove Jeff Davis and General Lee traitors, as has been intimated and implied.

All know now that Davis was not caught skulking in a woman's dress, as was so odiously circulated.

All know that Lee did not surrender unconditionally, as was so falsely asserted, whilst the authorities were howling at the opposite truth, viz.: That he had been allowed such terms.

All know now that Lincoln was a very sympathetic somebody, be this said to his great credit, which he learned by bitter experience at his home; being driven from home by the man who married his mother—and being obliged to drive mules, barefooted, on the canal for a living—and glad to have that to do.

Doubtless Lincoln at first believed the reports circulated for policy sake, concerning the condition of the negro in the South. But this means of operation show plainly that his sympathy with those whom he supposed were being cruelly treated, was all that could be commended in him. Honor and truth and law did not enter his conscience, or those who prompted him to act. If readable, I could give many low jokes of which he was the author. How revolting to hear such things of the President of the United States, as an incident evinces which occurred at Antietam battlefield. It most emphatically occurred that when McClellan stopped to point out the place where 800 of their brave fellows were laid away, as a party including Lincoln rode over the field, Lincoln scarcely looking at the place said, "McClellan, have you ever heard Major P. sing Old Dan Tucker?" McClellan shook his head in evident sorrow, and Lincoln insisted upon the Major singing for McClellan. Lincoln's mysterious life can only be understood when placed in its real position—that of a crafty politician. He announced himself a candidate for office as soon as he was of age. He was defeated for the Legislature, for Senate, for Vice-President, but kept on.

Now, to sum up, what have we?

Does not the whole thing resolve itself into this, that the advocates of the measures adopted to boom the war, were driven to their last resort when Seward conceived the monstrous announcement that "there was a higher law than the Constitution?" They do not deny that they violated the Constitution in the very attempt to deprive the States of their rights, without ever attempting to amend the same, and finally amended the Constituiton by military powers, and by much less majority than the Constitution required.

What of our civilization if there is a higher obligation than one's oath to be true, than one's reputation for honor and faithfulness?

Can one betray his trust and demand favor again?

Does the North lay claim to sincerity touching the instigation of the war? Then let them make the statement.

Does it deserve any rights under the Constitution which it has so signally ignored and abused? If so upon what ground?

Does it, after time for reflection and coolness, still claim a higher law as their motive than their oath and honor?

We are waiting still to see their defense.

It does not become us to criticise the past, nor to predict the future, nor have we such motive in writing these lines; only let us wait and see.

The truth is certainly worth maintaining; nay, its establishment is obligatory upon every one, and can only be opposed by cowardice and jealousy.

Let it be stoutly held that the great affliction through

which the Southern people were called to pass was not the consequence of their inheriting negro slaves from their fathers, who have passed away without any compunctions for having been the owners of slaves, under all the circumstances.

Go see whether the franchise of the negro has been a boon to him.

No, the evil of the South, as I conceive it, was its genial, listless tenure, and its proud reverence for its laws and its statesmen. The tendency was to classification and superiority.

The grand old South stands to-day without any implication of dishonor from any section of the States or combination of such sections.

The reproach following the rebellious efforts of the South against usurped authority has been only a foolish sentiment kept alive by the plotting politicians for policy's sake. West Virginia seceded from the old State and no objections were raised. Cuba seceded from Spain and no objections were raised by the loyal advocates. Panama seceded from Columbia—no objections, but hearty co-operation. The secession of the Southern States is the only instance connected with the history of our country, in which rebellion has been looked upon with reproach, and yet it is the only instance in which the people acted upon the constituted authority of reserved rights.

What more remains to be said of interest upon the subject? It would be useless to give in detail the grumbling disturbances in the labor line, breaking out in strikes, and mobs all through the Northern States. Of course, you hear of such things in the

South, but you have only to investigate, as in the Richmond Street Railway Company, to find the corporation existing in the North. The South believes in the motto, "Live and let live."

Now, after what has been said, you are only asked to compare statements as given to observe a wide difference.

I have not noted specially any of the many points of difference, but they are plainly apparent to a casual reader, and it will be worth any one's time who values the truth to investigate.

You will see at once that there can be no policy in overcoloring the points given after so long a time, and after things are so far on toward settling themselves. On the other side the whole plan of work has been a system of policy. Every one knows the history of all this in order to be popular and pay the publisher needs to be bright for the so-called winning side. It must savor of the exaggerated style of Uncle Tom's Cabin, whose author could tell you different things from those she wrote for her bread and butter. Mrs. Stowe on her deathbed bitterly repented of the influence of her book in helping on the war by its misrepresentations.

Be not content with the promptings of the old adage. "Where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise."

How little the people of the North understood the disposition of the negroes. They craved no equal rights. They only lived when allowed to dance and hunt away the time. The slaves of the days prior to the sixties made most of life. The peasantry of no country were ever as happy. They could lie

down at night without a care in the world. They are entirely out of their province when responsibility is placed upon them. It will ever be found as impossible to change the negro into the customs and habits of the white man as to make a horse out of a mule.

Let us not presume to be wiser than God.

No wonder that the great pending problem of the age is the race question.

What better solution of the whole affair presents itself than colonization of the negro? At least those without employment or property.

If this is at all practicable it will prove the alternative to prevent his extermination, I predict.

If as stated, the South is responsible for, and it has been an injury to the negro that he is here, what argument can be advanced to refute the fact that he should be returned to his native land. Almost any of our older citizens know of the experiments made to send the negroes to Liberia with their freedom, some of whom agreed to contribute $100 annually to this purpose, and that it proved a failure, the negroes coming back declaring they had rather be here in slavery.

This appears more plausible and practical than for the white man to give up his civilization and free institutions, which have cost him so much. As a fair proposition to any who may still pretend to approve of a cultivation of closer relationship with the negro, after a test of forty years, would ask where is his superiority to the Indian and the Philippino?

If there is a superiority in Sambo, did it belong to him originally, or did his condition in the South tend to improve him?

What of Africa for the home of the negro to-day, with some sort of supervision over him, and legislation for him as he may be able to appreciate?

The test was put to the advocates of negro equality forty years ago, and found them lacking in the scales of defence; have we any expression of sentiment in this time by which we may judge of their devotion to the principle? In an important city of Maryland at the time of the passage of the Equal Rights Bill, the following confab took place between a young negro who had been going to school, and just coming of age to vote when the law said so, and an old one who still knew how to lift his hat in the presence of his employers, which will serve to illustrate the difference between the two eras. "You see dat nice hotel right up dar," said the younger; "Well, right dar I's gwine oo eat my supper the very first day after dis bill is passed." The older negro, who knew how the passage of the bill would be received, said, "Ef you does you'll be sho to eat you breakfast in h-l. Dat's what."

A negro woman of the older school once went North to visit her daughter, who was employed in the house of a wealthy and influential family. The visitor was taken to the table with the family and treated the same. After all were through eating the host remarked to the negro, "I reckon you were not used to such treatment in the South when a slave." "No, 'deed," said she, "my old master was a gentleman."

The fact that the negro has supported a weak minority all this time, is directly against the fundamental principles of our system of government. That a few of them are taxed is no reason that they should be represented, unless their representation is more reliable than that of the white man. The women can set up as plausible a demand. If a larger representation insures better results, let the age of eligibility be 18, instead of 21.

Dares anyone to say that the women of our fair State suffer an injustice in that they do not vote? In the Southern and Eastern part of the State he who deems it unjust to the negro to be denied equality, where he has been so troublesome, has but little sense of justice toward his wife, sisters or daughters. If justice to the splendid women of old Maryland calls for injustice to the negro, let the injustice be imposed. Will some one place his mark upon the point where the negro ceases to be equal with the white man, if he is equal in civil affairs. The demand for the negro's civil equality was made by a party for an object; whether worthy or unworthy will be determined, I fear, only when the demand is made by the negro himself, for the further rights of equality in fact. There certainly can be no objection to a white man taking a negro upon an equality with himself as an individual, if he is sincere, but he who pretends by word of mouth to do that which he is not willing to do in reality, is a deceiver, and differs from a common criminal only in point of legality, and not in morality. Pardon the plainness of the statement. I mean no uncharitableness to the negro; he should be recognized as one of the creatures God has

made, but if it was ever divinely intended that he should be changed as the tadpole and the caterpillar, and thus be released from his uncoveted condition by human agency, then I am wrong in conception. Any other end than this is dishonest and dishonorable towards the negro if he is equal with the white man, or again I am wrong.

What have we from Roosevelt's actions in the case of Booker Washington at the White House, but a rare exception, going to prove a set rule in the opposite direction. Suppose one white person was picked, of all the rest, for the special purpose of showing an extremity for policy's sake in the matter of deficiency and dullness, would such an exception not prove that the rule was altogether different?

Strange things are always happening, and freaks of nature are not so uncommon but that such a thing as Booker Washington's superiority over his race should be among them, even with half white blood.

Perhaps though I am not giving Teddy as much credit for sincerity as he deserves, and already some one of his children may be conjugally engaged to one of Washington's offspring. Who knows, but that ere our heads are all gray, the names of Booker Roosevelt, or Roosevelt Washington may be among those who frequent the dwelling place of their grand-parents, and our National Capital.

The people of this section of Maryland will scarcely forget the vain exploit of Roosevelt with Senator McComas of the State as they passed through the several counties, from Cumber-

land to Frederick with their cohorts, courting recognition by occasional speeches, and which demonstration was followed by an overwhelming defeat of the Republican party that year. "Wire the news to Teddy," became a byword of the exulting Democrats, for a time after the election.

Such an outlandish demonstration of dishonesty has not lately been thrust upon the people as was the deceitful invitation to Booker Washington upon the occasion referred to. I take no risk in making this assertion—if I am wrong it only needs to be shown. Let us hear of Mrs. Roosevelt entertaining alike the races in her parlors, and saluting them without distinction; and Teddy making general his sociability with those of whom he expects so much in 1904, and he shall have our confidence as an honest man. But if he cannot do better than stomach one meal with a chosen one of the thousands of those who shall march to the polls in 1904 and make his chances all that they shall be, what may be inferred?

Of course if he had rather be President than to be right he could without violating his conscience court every prospect, but look out when he goes to settle with all of the boys. He can't "stand pat" and be aggressive too.

Think you, his charity will increase after the election, either in case of his success or failure.

In my own State among those who shall vote for Roosevelt, the negroes are three-fourths. Don't you think the Republican party should be on the spur to show up the potentialities of the negro since more than forty years have gone by?

Indeed, it is disgustingly idle to say the least, in the administraton, to repeatedly get up parades of battles and monument excitements every time an election draws near. The old, old, bloody shirt is flung to the breeze and the negroes given a stirring up to keep them in line until after November of every four years, and then for a while again all is serene.

On the 17th of September, 1903, Teddy was at Antietam to tell the boys how glad he was that the rebels did not succeed in destroying the Union and holding the negro in thraldom, but he couldn't brave to render a compliment to McClellan, though he was said to have won the battle, you know.

The time will come when the many monuments erected to the Yankee dead will be monuments to the heroism of a few Southern States, in defending the right against the world, and twice coming perilously near winning. Roosevelt evidently has many good qualities notwithstanding his peculiarities. It is hoped that should an opportunity afford to defend the "Monroe Doctrine," or to mediate between nations, he will regard his position as an American President, rather than his disposition to fight, and advocate the survival of the fittest.

Now you will say it is the old question over, prejudice against prejudice. How shall we ever decide in the right? Truly I would be very unjust and unreasonable to expect you to believe what I write as against what you have been taught. I believe, however, that you have sufficient confidence in me to give me credit for honesty, but shall not strain my friendship by insisting upon approval of what I state. I only ask that

you go South, and am willing to abide your decision as to whether the people are cruel and barbarous, as intimated all through your histories.

Go see what the distinguished characteristic of the South is, if any, and report.

As to the cause of the war, I can show the documents which have been abused and ignored, as set forth from second hand above.

As evidence of the spirit of the North as against opponents, and their scheming and contriving without conscience to bring on discord, will refer you to the origin of the Spanish-American war. I need but mention that the Spanish were refused an investigation of the destruction of the Maine by disinterested parties.

As to the progress of the war and our discordant views concerning same, I will try no less to be fair. In most cases I have given such evidence as personal observation is capable of producing.

I will only give two instances by way of recapitulating, upon which you may pass judgment as compared with your present information.

First, that of the battle of Antietam, upon which occasion you have it that the North was successful and Lee withdrew his army across the Potomac the night following the battle. Now I heard the whole battle from start to finish, and was within six miles of it. At the time of the engagement I was at work on my father's farm. It happened to be on my birthday.

I was on the battle-field shortly after the battle. I am prepared to prove by living witnesses that all the next day after the battle Lee occupied the field burying their dead and looking for an attack every minute. Our house was full of friends from Sharpsburg for several days before the battle, who tried to reach their homes the day after the battle, but were advised to return by the Confederates, who said, "We are looking any minute to be at it again," which advice they took. But McClellan's army was all north of the Bakersville road, seven miles from where the battle began, and did not venture to renew the engagement. The next night Lee's army crossed the river in perfect order, with all the booty he captured at Harper's Ferry.

As stated above, the destruction of an ammunition train from Williamsport towards Hagerstown prevented Lee from pursuing McClellan, as some think, while others say Lee's object in entering Maryland was to replenish his stores. I don't think Lee would have been allowed to make aggressive warfare beyond the line.

At Gettysburg Lee's forces ran out of ammunition also, and hence, had to desist, but with the same order which occurred at Sharpsburg, and with as much pecuniary success. It was falsely circulated that McClellan was in command on the second day by Lincoln and Seward.

McClellan was twice taken into service and twice discharged. The Yankee forces gave up after the first day's fighting, but when they believed McClellan was in command they were newly inspired. There were forty thousand troops that could

not be used it is said. The writer is confident that the Confederates had not two rounds of ammunition left, as he was amongst the soldiers for several days on his father's farm while they were waiting for the river to recede, the recent rains having made it impossible to cross.

An amusing story was told by one of the soldiers as an experience on one of those cozy Dutch farms near Gettysburg. It occurred that a plump-looking chicken came around as they rested near one of those small hog-pens with but one door, and of course rather dark within. This soldier said to his mate, "As we are in the enemy's country, I think I shall make that chicken contraband of war," whereupon he began pursuit. The chicken finally darted into the hog-pen and the soldier close behind. There happened to be an old sow in the pen, which of course was in a big hurry to get out from a panic of fright. The soldier being in a big hurry to get in through hope of possession was just half way in when the sow was just half way out, and for a time neither could get further. The soldier said he had to hold his feet up to keep them out of the old sow's mouth and had to hold his head up to keep the old sow's tail out of his mouth.

As Lee's army was the force that the Confederates were depending upon, the war could have been ended right there. But not until Lee was crossing his last men on his pontoon bridges did the Yankees come with a rush, pretending great surprise.

The battle was so close in its results that the order for re-

treat was given along the Yankee lines—General Doubleday's division was giving way when it was discovered that the Confederates were falling back, from which they did not recover. The comparative numbers engaged were 85,000 and 120,000.

Why was the immense army of the North not allowed to push on at such a time?

Either it was too sore after Gettysburg's battle, or that the Presidential election was coming near and Lincoln wished to be sure of a second term—most probably the latter.

Should you wish to know more of the progress of the war from the writer's actual observation, will gladly render it upon application.

The result, as to its terms and conditions, you will be able to ascertain by looking up the agreement which took place at Appomattox, Va., in a farm house. As to the further effects, you will observe them at present, and apprehend them in the future, as well as I can describe them or predict them.

Now, in conclusion, I should like to call your attention to one point in particular; as your surroundings and associations have been such as to induce prejudice against the people who were the inheritors of the negroes at time of the war. It is this. If the South was responsible for the condition of the race when the war was forced upon them, and hence culpable, then of necessity they are also responsible for the negroes' condition whilst in Africa, where they ate their own offspring and sold them when they had opportunity.

The change in the race by living in civilization, though

under subjection, was for the better and not for worse, as all will admit. Hence, if the South is responsible for the race here the greater responsibility rests upon the fact that they should have been brought sooner.

Doubtless you have seen statistics giving the rate of mortality among the negroes since their freedom. It is thought by careful and considerate men that it is only a matter of time until the race will become extinct. Those who do not die of carelessness of self in their filth, will become amalgamated with our race, unless they are colonized or sent back to their mother country.

The South never enslaved the negro. Their own parents, in most cases enslaved them, selling them to slave vessels whenever opportunity offered. The South was the only section of the Union which passed laws to prohibit slaves being brought to our ports.

Now look around and see whether their emancipation has done as much for the negroes as slavery has done. The fallacy of the whole system of booming the negro is in the false comparison. It is assumed that the negro was originally equal in every way, and that through the medium of slavery, and its enormity, he has been reduced to inferiority.

The comparison justly is between the negro in a savage, heathenish state, and that of the white man, rather than between a trustworthy and affectionate servant, as at time of war, and the white man, if the South is to bear the blame of the breach between the races. No nation nor clime, nor sentiment, has

given the negro his peculiarity of caste and constitution, and it will ever be found impracticable to remove them, if it should be deemed expedient to attempt to undo what God has done.

The faces of the men who do not blush at what has been said and done by fanatics of our nation to give the Indian's home to the African, have no shame. Have they sympathy, have they charity? go to the Boers who have called in vain, called for bread, called for life!

In the name of humanity is it not time the Republican party was redeeming its pledges to the negro? Could the North expect the people of the South to come to their assistance should the negroes at any time break upon them to demand the equality so long ago promised them. The negro gave the Republican party its power and has now broken its neck. A few more appointments of the negro in the North will give the Republicans enough of President Roosevelt.

What are the mutterings so repeatedly heard along this line of late?

May it not already be a heralding forth of their rightful claims by the negroes? Shall they not reap deception who sow such things?

The poor negro's redemption from inferiority lies not in his disposition or ability to squirm and battle with what may seem adverse circumstances, nor in any one else's intervention for him, but rather in patience and humility, aiming to deserve better advantages than has fallen to his lot, if it is so to be. His seeking superiority will never bring it about; nay, it only

robs him of the respect of all who know the path to true worth and merit. He who mistreats a negro, because he is a negro, is no gentleman, plainly and unequivocally; neither is he who mistreats him by deceiving into believing that charity calls for equality between the races, and yet scorns the idea when it comes to the test.

Why do men halt and quibble at such critical junctures?

What means a committee appointed by the authorities to gather all arguments, pro and con, concerning the race question and its solution?

Think you that it is probable the day will come when the existence of such a committee shall be referred to as a scandalous and fanatical outbreak, and that for shame no one will be found to acknowledge having had anything to do with it? Wait and see. Coming events cast their shadow. Such movements are not being perpetrated by those who have all along expressed their ideas in this direction, but are being pushed by those who are just waking to reasonable conclusions after prejudice has died a natural death.

Talk now to an honest man who has differed with you in years gone by upon the subject of negro franchise, or equal rights, and note his reply.

It is now generally admitted by the most strenuous party men that the race problem is one they are not able to solve.

Is this not an acknowledgment that something has gone wrong?

What remains therefore to be done is this, that the States

must attend to this thing respectively as has been done in the South.

The next Legislature of this State will pass a bill to disfranchise the ignorant negro. Is it not time when 10,000 of them from the District of Columbia alone, vote here, to say nothing of the adjoining States? The best class of Republicans are no less anxious to see the negro nuisance dispensed with at the polls than the Democrats, for, say they, the party will be stronger without than with them. The older darkies themselves see the folly of their voting, and admit it. Lately two old negro women were heard loudly and openly to denounce the system. "What good is ever to come of de black men wotin." One said. —"You never heard of so much trouble among the black folks before dey got to wotin. I'se been a slave away down South and I neber been in any trouble an I ain't goin to get in trouble neider." The women folks get along widout wotin, so why can't de men folks. Soon as the black men get a wote dey think the whole world belongs to 'em. Dey think if dey can wote, why can't dey do whatever the white folks do."

If the representation of the negro is a fair one, of what avail is the added constituency, and if not fair it is a signal evil. Nothing has ever done more to spoil the negro. I happened to see one of the upper crust negroes walking down Washington street, and pause at the corner of the Court House pavement as he saw a gentleman approaching, whom he asked to drop a letter in the box at the corner of the City Hotel, diagonally across the street. The negro being well acquainted knew that on the

next corner in the direction he was going there was another box, and the gentleman told him so and went on. Of course it would not have done the white man any harm to drop the letter in the box, but it certainly would have been a lasting injury to the negro, to have gained his point.

It is said the Democrats would rob the negro of his rights by disfranchising him; but do not the Republicans deny him his rights in the same sense by refusing to allow him to occupy a room with them at a crowded hotel, or to marry their daughters? Then they distinguish between right and expediency. Hence in the proper sense of the word they admit that only such things are right as should be right.

I have never yet seen an attempt to show what possible benefit could accrue from the negroes' franchise, either to the negro or white man. If it is useless for the two sexes to vote, why not so with the races. This comparison is made on the Republican ground that the races are equal, and from the standpoint that they are willing to vote upon a measure according to its merits, as it concerns the whole people, and not as holding the balance of power, thwarting the majority, and supporting any evil from prejudice or selfishness that may arise.

And now what a gratifying relief attends the dismissal of this phase of the subject in hand, viz.: the negro, and to be done forever with writing repulsive facts, such as teem with loathsome impressions and the circumstantial connections of unmentionable horrors. The height of his ambition shall be attained should the writer succeed in inspiring some contempor-

ary to the task of defending the contrary of the foregoing enumerations, which have been so persistently set forth impliedly in the popular literature of the North. What are the signs of the present times? Is federation so popular that the churches are rushing to its late federation to give up their identity? No, they will not even risk signing a constitution.

We have suffered as a nation from a power that is always doing and undoing, presuming and retracting. Let there be more adhering to ground principles than experimenting with such vital measures as most deeply concern the masses of the people. We must get back to the old moorings.. What has contributed in a larger degree to the unequal distribution of wealth in the land with all of its evil consequences than the flagrant opportunity to do such things? Men have always lived sufficiently selfish and criminal to inflict such evils, but have not always had the option, which, since begun, have been fuel to other and greater atrocities, such as are almost threatening our nation's life by their might.

The greatest evil that has resulted from the monstrous tariff schemes and trust combinations is that the millions are making the measures to be lived by.

Roosevelt fell a victim to this evil when he accepted the monstrous contributions to the campaign fund of 1904. If he really knew nothing of this when he denied it upon the charge of Parker three days before the election, was he not under obligations to apologize when it was proven that not Parker but Teddy misstated facts.

The very principle upon which these ignominious machinations have been formed are so palpably so, that it has always been the greatest of mysteries to me how so many people have been deceived so long. The very foolish idea of a Nation purporting to be able to continue to sell its products to another, and by its statutes prohibit any buying from the same. Selling to other countries with added duty cheaper than to home market. But, says Teddy, to stop protection all at once would be like burning the barn to get rid of rats. But if one puts rats into his barn and gets paid a royalty on grain eaten he should not be allowed to stock other men's barns who get no royalty on theirs. No, let the barn burn, and the evil man suffer as a warning to others. If a man has small-pox his bed must be burned.

The trust trick is no less a tangible one.

An organization always has an object in view, either aggressive or defensive; hence when manufacturers organize it is not to benefit the consumer, most assuredly, yet attempts have been repeatedly made to deceive the people into believing that all are benefited by an organization of one industry against another. These organizers are not so stupid as to organize against themselves.

Had I not promised to write only a small book it would be directly within the province of the design of this section of my work to give an account of the ridiculous and insulting treatment of General Fitzhugh Lee, Admiral Schley and General Miles, at the hands of the authorities, during and since the

Spanish-American war. Nothing could better represent the harbored prejudice of the old enemies of our free land than after so long a time to stoop to such unprincipled and impertinent demeanor.

Blind indeed is the bigot who does not discern the distinction between this disposition towards loyalty, and that of the South, which was ready at the call to respond to a demand for help. No sentiment of revenge on the part of the latter, but infamous and reproachful partiality on the other.

What a spirit of reverent devotion exists within the breast of the true American. See him in the Revolutionary War with his rifle defending his Declaration of Independence; see him in the war of 1812 when Northern sections of the so-called Union refused to defend the old flag for which our fathers bled, and in which they claimed to have such an interest at the time of the Civil War; see him in the Civil War with his musket defending his Constitution; see him when hostilities were partly compromised going to vote with his bowie knife to secure his rights, and again see him nobly march out at the call for help from the old Union against the Spanish forces.

How often one hears the South spoken of as being behind the times, which no doubt is the case in many respects, and appreciably so. The writer shall never forget an incident which occurred in a train on the Norfolk & Western Railroad between Roanoke, Va., and Hagerstown, Md., upon which particular occasion the closing exercises of the Roanoke College at Salem, Va., had just occurred, and many students were en route for

home. A pompous Northern sport, seeing so many fine looking young men in a train in the South, felt rather smaller under the circumstances than his estimate of his dimensions had always justified him in claiming for himself, hence he thought it his delightful privilege to air his bigness for a spell. He remarked, "'Tis a fine thing that the South is getting nice hotels, bath-rooms," etc. Continuing, he said, "In the North one can take a good bath every week, things are so convenient and nice." One of the boys caught my eye, as he smiled in as plain language as words could portrary, that in the South a bath only once a week would be scorned, though there were no bath rooms at all.

The Yankees at the time of the war attempted lots of fun at the Southern people handling their horses by the words Gee and Haw. The Northern people still are ignorant of the intelligence of the horse. They work him in the field with a line on either side of the mouth and draw him about. They cannot understand why a horse will come Haw at a draw upon a single line and go Gee at a jerk on the same line. With all their ingenuity they lack judgment as to the propriety of things in more instances than one. They have come to admire the characteristics of the South at this late day, however, and many are sending their daughters South to be educated.

Have you read the "Young Parson," a book written from the old historic town of Winchester, Va.? The author, being a Northern man, refers to the very foolish notion prevalent among the Southern people, that it was considered almost vulgar

for a gentleman to wear detached collars and cuffs with his linen. Now there could be no reasonable objection to the simple matter of these articles of apparel being detached, but where this was not a custom, and where cleanliness was almost a sentiment, doubtless the use of these parts of dress as a convenience and economy was ignored with some justification; the theory being that when the cuffs and collar are soiled the whole garment is soiled. Certainly this view of the matter, like many other hasty conclusions, held no belittling difference in favor of being up with the times.

If there is a great difference between the people of the South and those of the North in respect to deficiencies, it consists in this, that the South has the fewer.

From the very nature of things it must be true that both the North and the South were culpable in some manner, and to some measure, that such a calamity should be visited upon our land as was the war. Do you not agree with me, after following over the whole matter, that the evil of the South was that of listlessness and inordinate pride, whilst that of the North was the grosser wickedness of avarice and maliciousness? The Southern people are peculiar in the particular of being indifferent to the opinions of others concerning themselves or their actions. To be satisfied with any duty or assignment of task is the height of their ambition, and it matters little what others think of them or their work, or whether others know of it at all. This is the very essence of pride, and accounts largely for the absence of literature in the South, and the dearth of his-

tory concerning their wonderful record. Statesmen, orators, soldiers, among the fittest, yet how few have been their authors.

Now, dear friend, I've written but one side of this great question, as the other has been amply dealt with long years ago. Do not consider me bigoted if I've written intensely of my convictions, experience and observation. No one can be just and not indignant at injustice. No pen can mold a future or alter the past. "A wise Divinity shapes our ends, roughhew them as we will."

As this little budget was begun, so shall it end, in the hope that prejudice and unfairness towards a true and brave people may be eliminated from the curriculum of our schools, and that eventually our children will not be taught to hate their grandparents as traitors and rebels.

DEDUCTIONS.

What an expression of sympathy was the turning loose of a helpless race by their pretended friends, upon their supposed enemies, without homes or money.

The North gained the power to continue the administration of government, but the South gained the issue that "Constitutional Law" is above Popular Opinion.

Had the war ended when the "Emancipation Proclamation" was issued there had been no amendments to the Constitution. The uncivilized manner of warfare, and fear of the final outcome of the war, called for some sort of legalizing of the administration's proceedings.

Implications and Their Corrections From So-called Histories That Are Pitiably Untrue and Cruelly Unjust.

"America" was never "Discovered" but was politically invented by Thomas Payne nearly 300 years after "The voyage of Columbus."

Our Revolutionary ancestors never fought for a Nationalism, but to deliver us from one.

Our constitutional form of government was not "Built by the Puritans," but was deliberately agreed upon by all concerned.

The cry of "Union" instead of unity was a most palpable exposition of selfish policy looking to "the privileges of the few" instead of the many.

If the seceding states were out of the Union the constitution must have permitted it; if not out then they certainly were entitled to a vote upon the amendments.

Elson's history of the war makes it a "Slave Holders Rebellion", but it so far misses the truth as that it was an anti-constitutional rebellion against a section, of which, not one in ten ever owned a slave.

Two slave dealers were hanged at Augusta, Ga. in violation of a law passed by the Southern colonies to prohibit slave dealing. England repealed the law. Queen Anne heavy stockholder in ship line. When war began with England, again the South voted to put an end to bringing in slaves, when the North voted a majority to continue it for 20 years—see record of Congress.

Only after the negro insurrections of 1800 and 1831 did the South see the danger of suddenly liberating the race.

If firing upon Fort Sumter was "Insurrection", why were not the insurrectionists punished and the "Constitution" left intact?

"A soldier's death thou hast boldly died,
A soldier's grave won by it;
Before I would take that sword from thine hand,
My own life's blood should dye it."